Announcing: The Committee for Religious Freedom — *page 12*

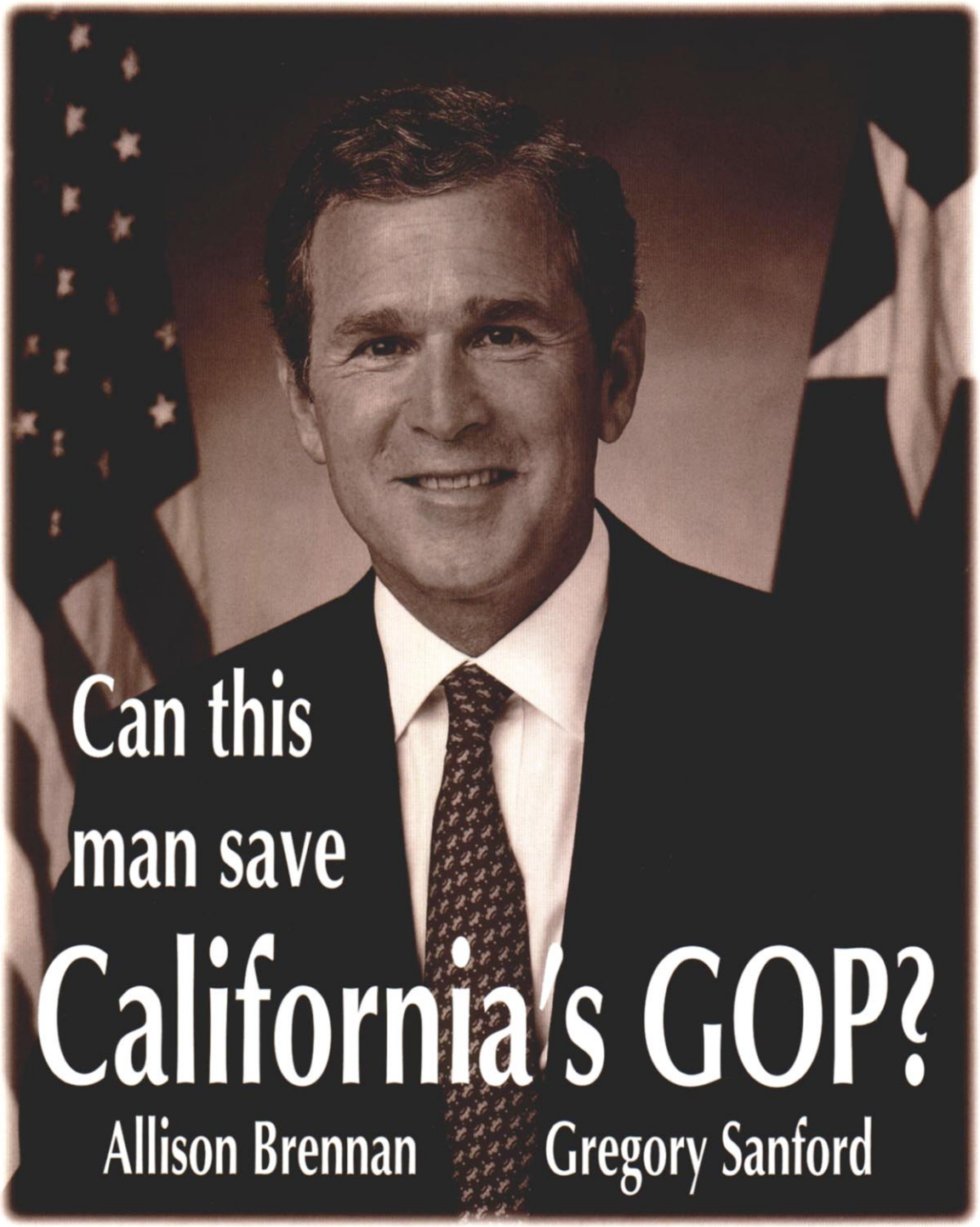

# CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1999 • VOLUME 10 • NUMBER 6 • $4.00


**Truth & Politics**
***The Debate Continues***
**Horowitz/Kurzweil**

**David C. Stolinsky Dissects Politicized Science**

**Peter Hannaford Dissects 'Dutch'**

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## THE COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

# Defend Freedom of Conscience

If you believe that no government may legitimately tell us what to think about religion, morality, and politics; if you share our support for freedom of conscience, religious freedom, and free speech, then please use the form below to join us by adding your name as a signer to The Committee for Religious Freedom's Statement of Support for the three-judge panel decision in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission.*

This Committee, which needs everyone's support, includes nationally-known Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders: *First Things* Editor Rev. **Richard John Neuhaus**, Former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican **William A. Wilson**, nationally-known author Rabbi **Daniel Lapin**, *Life & Times* host **Hugh Hewitt**, and Pastor **Laurence White** of Houston's Our Savior Lutheran Church. Please read our full statement and list of signers in this issue of *CPR* (page 12).

These Religious and Community leaders support the January ruling in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission* which upholds First Amendment religious freedom guarantees against lawsuits that would force landlords to choose between sacrificing their livelihood or renting to unmarried couples against their religious convictions. That ruling is now under review by an 11-judge panel of the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals.

"Landlords are accused of violating civil rights if they object on religious grounds to being forced to choose between renting to unmarried couples or going out of business," our statement reads. "But is it not *their* freedom of conscience and *our own* First Amendment Religious Freedom rights that are under attack?" If you agree that these rights should be defended, please sign and return this form today. Thank you.

I support the Statement of The Committee for Religious Freedom.

**Optional:** ___ Please keep me informed of the Committee's activities.

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Daytime telephone

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CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
# REVIEW

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REVIEW

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## Truth & Politics

The Kurzweil-Horowitz discussion (*CPR*, July/Aug., Sept./Oct.) has been interesting. There is accuracy on both sides. The problem is that the U.S. political culture has been fundamentally changed over the past 40 to 60 years, and especially in the past decade.

It is a transition which reflects the serious degeneration of the *overall* culture of the country.

Does truth matter? Of course it does, in the context of the former political, social, moral values which were basic assumptions of the Founding Fathers. Truth still does matter today in any discussion between persons who share those assumptions.

But those assumptions prevailed in the political culture only as long as the former dominant culture of the country prevailed. Today the overall dominant culture of the country has undergone massive degeneration, in ways which need no summary here.

Today the dominant political culture has no rules. Instead of reasoned political debate we have political war. And in war bad things happen.

Political war is being waged against conservative politics, and so far it has been a mostly one-sided war. One of the reasons it is one-sided is that conservative politics is fragmented. It is made up of various groups which have trouble talking to each other.

War has a way of uniting opposition. So we need to understand that a great political war is going on, so that a political opposition may yet develop.

Stan Langland
Belmont

I completely concur with Mr. Horowitz that we do a lousy job of selling our conservative ideas. For instance, we allow the news media to imply that guns are for rich sportsmen or target shooters. We almost never point out that the people who are hurt by gun control laws are poor people who need guns to defend themselves. I think of gun control laws as criminal protection laws. The criminal or even the gang member will always have a good gun ready to fire. The victiim is the one who either can't afford the good gun or finds it useless when it is needed because of the trigger safety lock. By the time the police respond to the 911 call the bad guy is long gone.

Why can't we couch the argument in these (very true) terms?

Virgil Weatherford
Hawthorne

*The Kurzweil-Horowitz discussion continues this issue, page 21. — editor*

**STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 11/15/99**

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor



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# SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

The appointment of state Senator Jim Brulte to head up fund raising efforts for the California Republican Party should be viewed as good news by all concerned. The "moderate" Republican wrecking crew had — true to form — created a self-fulfilling prophecy of financial problems for the CRP.

Chairman John McGraw and Vice Chairman Shawn Steel had repeatedly approached the losers of the last convention and asked them to come on board and help — all in the "big tent" spirit, you understand. The moderates, behaving immoderately, like spoiled children, and following the example of their leaders Brooks Firestone and Bob Larkin, petulantly refused.

They went further, actively trying to turn off money to the CRP. Enough of the strong mind/weak spine types in Silicone Valley fell for the moderate's campaign of vituperation to cause the CRP significant dollar problems.

Brulte, with a strong assist from George W., will no doubt now be able to cajole one or more high octane business types to help with the task. Brulte is a conservative by instinct but a strategist and tactician at heart — not a bad combination in these times. And he has brought on savvy political strategist Tom Ross, a former Brulte chief of staff, as state director of the California Republican Party's Victory 2000 program.

Brulte will divert the high-dollar Republicans from moaning about those "awful" social issues. Let the folks who are expert at shaking the money tree be occupied with that job and they will have less time to worry about how the living, breathing Republican base vote just will never fit in at the country club.

The dollars Brulte and these folks raise will elect Republicans in November. Conservatives' task is to make sure our philosophical brethren win the primaries in March.

An unseen boost for conservative candidates in those March primaries could come from the "Protection of Marriage" initiative campaign. This is the ballot measure that legally defines marriage in California as being a union of man and woman. Everyone knows that is what marriage is, of course.

The real issue is whether radical leftists should be permitted to use government power to trample all over the plain meaning of important words, such as "marriage," whenever they think it helps them achieve one of their political objectives, usually some tawdry scheme for stealing money from employers, taxpayers, etc.

What they don't notice, as usual, or don't care about, or sometimes applaud, is the social devastation they foster by draining the meaning out of a bedrock social institution.

But their attack on the family *has* been noticed by a lot of ordinary, normal Californians. The campaign has activated enormous numbers of first time political workers, mainly from the Mormon and Catholic Churches. We're talking thousands of these newbies on a statewide basis.

If the conservative movement can plug into these folks, conservative candidates all across California would receive an enormous boost at the March ballot box. Is anyone out there listening?

— *A. P. C.*



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# Slouching Toward the Middle

*As liberal ideologues inexorably push their agenda from the bench, and feckless 'moderates' strike fashionable poses, the left triumphs.*

MARK S. PULLIAM

On October 5, 1999, a jurisprudential giant in California passed away at age 85. Frank K. Richardson was appointed to the California Supreme Court in 1974 by Governor Ronald Reagan, and served with distinction until his retirement in 1983. He authored nearly 600 opinions during his nine-year tenure on the high court, including landmark decisions upholding Propositions 13 and 8 (the "Victim's Bill of Rights"). But it is easy to do the right thing when it is popular. The ultimate test comes when doing right means opposing prevailing intellectual fashions. In Richardson's era, the Supreme Court was packed with judicial liberals. Richardson neither went along nor remained silent.

Richardson's greatness, like that of his former colleague, William Clark, is measured by his thoughtful, eloquent dissents. He and Clark were the conscience of the Rose Bird Court. He consistently exposed the majority's illegitimate judicial lawmaking. Frank Richardson was a meticulous scholar whose personal and intellectual rectitude earned him the nickname "Deacon." Even now, Richardson's legacy of cogent dissenting opinions shines like a beacon, providing guidance — and direction — to future students, judges, and lawyers who read them in *California Reports.*

Alas, Richardson's passing is a symbolic loss as well, because the example he set — as the archetypal Republican judge — no longer exists in California's judiciary. I do not mean to diminish the contribution of stalwart jurists such as California Supreme Court Associate Justice Janice Brown (and, to a lesser extent, Justice Marvin Baxter), but to recognize that they are the exception rather than the rule on a court dominated by "moderate" Republican appointees. Consider the August 2 decision of the California Supreme Court in *Aguilar v. Avis Rent A Car System, Inc.,* in which Chief Justice Ron George (who, in contrast to Richardson, *always* votes with the majority) wrote a plurality opinion affirming an injunction (or, in First Amendment litigation parlance, "prior restraint") against a particular form of expression. In *Aguilar,* a group of Latino employees sued their employer and 10 co-workers to recover for the "emotional distress" caused by "national origin harassment" consisting of "verbal abuse" at work. None of the plaintiffs had been fired or demoted. It is not unusual these days for plaintiffs to seek, or for juries to award, damages for past conduct or statements in such cases. But *Aguilar* raised an issue of first impression: can courts enjoin *future* speech?

The U.S. Supreme Court has long considered prior restraints on speech to be impermissible except to avoid a "clear and present danger" to public health or safety — the classic example being falsely yelling "fire" in a crowded movie theater. From what "clear and present danger" was Ron George protecting the Republic in *Aguilar?* The publication of national defense secrets in a newspaper? The burning of an American flag in public? A Nazi march through a predominantly Jewish community? A seditious speech full of libel and invective? A KKK rally, complete with white hoods and burning crosses? The display of a vulgar slogan in a courthouse? No. The U.S. Supreme Court, often at the behest of the ACLU, has overturned prior restraints against all these things because of our near-absolute devotion to the First Amendment and freedom of speech.

No, the threat to civil society enjoined by Ron George and his Republican-appointed colleagues Marvin Baxter, Ming Chin, and Kathryn Werdegar was the use of "racial or ethnic epithets" by employees against one another in the workplace. You see, verbal "harassment" consisting of derogatory names (such as "wetback"), profanity, and other "demeaning" statements is considered to be more offensive, and entitled

*Mark S. Pulliam,* California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*



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# COMMENTARY

## "Dutch"

**Peter Hannaford**

In a recent letter to the editor of the *Washington Post,* Edmund Morris says that he is not greatly interested in the story of Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign, "which is already well-documented in the works of Lou Cannon and others." Had he applied the same standard to Reagan's pre-politics years, he could have spared us the first 300 pages of *Dutch (A Memoir of Ronald Reagan* by Edmund Morris, Random House, 1999, $35, cloth), for those years were well-documented in Anne Edwards' 1987 biography, *Early Reagan.*

This contradiction is symptomatic of the author's ambivalent attitude about his project, the first biography authorized by a sitting president. In television and magazine interviews, Morris has lauded his subject as "great," "the bravest," "incorrupt," but it is hard to find such conclusions in *Dutch.* Indeed, there is a lot of condescension, as in his off-handed treatment of Reagan's years as president of the Screen Actors' Guild, a pivotal period in Reagan's transition from liberal to conservative.

*Peter Hannaford was closely associated with Ronald Reagan for many years. The latest of his four books about the 40th president is* The Quotable Ronald Reagan.

Morris had been chosen by the Reagans, with the enthusiastic support of key staff members, to document the 40th president's life. Their choice was made on the basis of Morris's only previous book, the widely-acclaimed *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt.* Fourteen years later he produced *Dutch.* In mid-course he apparently suffered a writer's block. In 1992, he told scholars at the University of Virginia's Miller Center

that Reagan was an enigma, a complete mystery to him. Despite Morris's unprecedented access to Reagan while the latter was in office, he seems unable to sort out the significant from the less significant.

For example, he describes the Reagan visit to a cemetery in Bitburg, Germany, where, as it turned out, some German troops were buried, as the "crisis of his career." On the other hand, he treats the Reykjavik, Iceland, summit as if it were a public relations exercise when, in fact, it was the climactic event of the Cold War, when Reagan trumped Gorbachev once and for all.

Morris gets some things right, such as the succession of events in the 1976 Reagan presidential campaign, but — for all the years spent on the project — he gets his proportions wrong on many aspects of Reagan's life.

A biographer has an obligation to present all the aspects of his subject's life as objectively as he or she can. Granted, no one is completely objective, but the historian must strive for detachment. With this book, Morris goes in the opposite direction. In his never-ending search for some deep psychological secret to Reagan's character, he finds it necessary to insert fictional characters: himself, as if born 28 years before he actually was; a son he never had; and a gossipy columnist schoolmate. Imaginary people have imaginary conversations, write imaginary letters and poems, and participate in imaginary events.

The only hint the reader has that something is up is a coy reference on the dust jacket to what Morris calls "a new biographical style." If he set out to confuse some readers, he has doubtless succeeded, for the index lists citations of the fictional characters right along with the real ones, with no distinction made. Morris did a prodigious amount of re-

*(Please turn to page 28)*



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to less constitutional protection, than pornography, obscenity, topless dancing, flag burning, and other forms of sacrosanct expression. Even libelous speech can't be enjoined in advance. But casual workplace banter *can,* if it offends the right ethnic or racial group! *Aguilar* is a stunning example of Republican judges saluting politically correct fashion in place of the law.

THE COURT'S controversial ruling in *Aguilar* was 4-3; any of the Republican-appointed judges could have altered the result. The issue is not whether boorish remarks are rude and discourteous — they are — or whether workplace harassment violates the law. The Legislature has determined that it does. The issue is whether courts should be able to enjoin an amorphous category of speech that *has not yet occurred.* Remarkably, the majority asaid "yes," ignoring decades of precedent. Justices Stanley Mosk, Joyce Kennard, and Janice Brown disagreed and wrote separate dissents. Mosk observed that "[a]mong our most cherished constitutional principles is that speech — even if offensive — should be protected unless, and until, it produces a demonstrable harmful effect." Brown's dissent was characteristically pungent:

> I can think of no circumstance in which this court has brushed aside such an important constitutional protection as the right to free speech on the basis of so little analysis or authority .... Indeed, if applied generally, the plurality's rule would create the exception that swallowed the First Amendment ....
>
> Every age has its fashionable ideas and its disfavored ideas. In the early part of this century, the public was particularly thin-skinned about communism. Courts tried to prohibit and punish the dissemination of communist ideas, but the United States Supreme Court struck down these decisions with a resounding no .... But today this Court reopens the door to censorship with a resounding yes. The Legislature is now free to prohibit the expression of ideas it dislikes, and courts can enforce these prohibitions with injunctions.
>
> None of us on this Court condones ethnic and racial discrimination in the workplace, but the issue in this case is speech, not just discrimination. Speech is un-

# WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

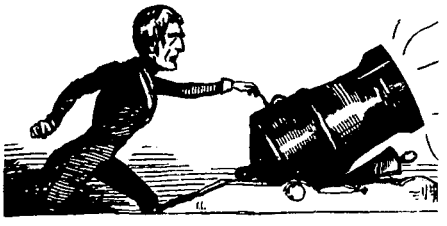
By WILLIAM E. SARACINO

The primary election to fill the seat of the late Congressman George Brown is a story the media is steadfastly ignoring. Why? Read on, this is an easy one.

The ballot featured a pro-gun Republican Elia Perozzi and a pro-gun Democrat, state Senator Joe Baca, as well as two anti-gun Democrats, George Brown's widow Marta and the mayor of San Bernardino running in the open primary. Voters could pick any candidate regardless of party.

Widows have a very strong record of winning their husband's districts. Mrs. Brown lambasted Baca relentlessly for his pro-gun voting record. Her campaign made sure that gun control was *the* issue of the campaign. The voters' verdict was a 34-32 percent Baca victory over Mrs. Brown. Perozzi received 27 percent with the anti-gun mayor getting 5 percent.

Hmmmmm. Even without my abacus it appears that the pro-gun candidates garnered more than 60 percent of the vote in this heavily Democrat, working class district. You haven't seen this in banner headlines? Must just be an oversight.



As a note, the NRA and Gun Owners of California made a major effort to get their members in the district to vote. With a total turnout of 39,000, the two pro-gun organizations can identify close to 4,000 of their members who cast ballots. I wonder how moderate Republicans or the media explain this one? Don't hold your breath waiting to hear.

*William E. Saracino is executive director of Gunowners of California.*



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pleasant sometimes. It may be disgusting. It may be offensive. Contrary to the nursery rhyme, it may even be injurious. But, with few exceptions, none of which applies, the state and federal Constitutions prohibit courts from using their injunctive power as a surgical instrument to extricate disfavored ideas from the popular discourse, and this principle applies even here where the ideas in question were, from what we can tell from the limited record, both offensive and abhorrent.

One of the truths we hold to be self-evident is that a government that tells its citizens what they may say will soon be dictating what they may think. But in a country that puts such a high premium on freedom, we cannot allow ourselves to be the captives of orthodox, culturally-imposed thinking patterns. *Indeed I can conceive no imprisonment so complete, no subjugation so absolute, no debasement so abject as the enslavement of the mind.* (Emphasis added.)

Even the ACLU, which prides itself as an absolute defender of the First Amendment (hypocritically, since it abhors religious expression), argued *for* prior restraint in *Aguilar*. Margaret Crosby, author of the ACLU's Supreme Court brief, defended the two-faced position:

> The ACLU is identified in the public's mind as the foremost champion of outrageous and offensive speech — flag burning, Nazi marches in Skokie, "indecent" speech on the Internet. *We are proud of that tradition, and committed to continuing it* .... Sometimes speech collides with other cherished rights .... When do a manager's racist epithets violate the workers' right to racial equality? ... Sometimes, words are crimes .... Pervasive racial harassment in the workplace ... is not shielded by the First Amendment .... The *[Aguilar v.] Avis* order is a modest effort to secure equality for Latino workers who have suffered racial discrimination. (Emphasis added.)

For reasons I cannot fathom, it is important to many members of the upper-class cultural elite that they be well-regarded by "progressive" thinkers such as the ACLU. It must have gratified Ron George to see *California Lawyer* magazine laud *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren,* his notorious ACLU-backed decision invalidating the parental consent requirement for minors' abortions, as one of the most significant pro bono ("in the public interest") cases in recent years. It is ironic that "moderates" like George slavishly follow the transparently hypocritical, left-wing ACLU party line.

The crux of the ACLU's position in Aguilar is that employee speech can be restricted because the workplace is a "captive audience." Workers offended by profane and obnoxious messages can avoid them only by quitting their jobs (which the ACLU erroneously regards as an impermissible "sacrifice" of their rights, a separate fallacy). Yet the San Diego chapter of the ACLU recently sued the University of California for disciplining a UCSD student for posting an obscene political sign in his dorm window, visible to other students in the "captive audience" of the campus outside. The University was forced to rescind the discipline and relax its policy prohibiting the posting of offensive messages on campus, with nary a thought to the rights of other students. What explains the ACLU's difference in thinking? Dormitories and college campuses are just as "captive" an audience as a private sector workplace. Only this: the UCSD message was directed at a non-politically correct target, Benjamin Netanyahu and Augusto Pinochet. The *Aguilar* speech was directed at a politically correct target, Latinos. Such result-oriented posturing is hypocrisy, pure and simple.

Nevertheless, "moderates" continue to genuflect at the altar of political correctness. Republican-appointed judges on the New Jersey Supreme Court recently ruled against the Boy Scouts (a non-politically correct organization), calling them a "public accommodation" and treating their moral disapproval of homosexuality as the equivalent of racial bigotry. The ACLU and the liberal media cooed with approval.

As GOP "moderates" cave-in to trend setters at the ACLU, the liberal ideologues have their "pedal to the metal" in terms of legislating from the bench. The most recent example of this came September 29, when Court of Appeal Justice J. Anthony Kline — remember him? — issued a 2-1 decision holding that a jury must determine whether a gun maker is liable for the criminal misuse of a weapon. The case, *Merrill v. Navegar, Inc.,* arose from a July 1, 1993, shooting spree by a deranged gunman at a San Francisco high-rise office building, resulting in eight deaths, not including the killer's suicide. The survivors and families of the decedents sued Navegar, the manufacturer of two of the three weapons used by the attacker. All the weapons were lawfully sold (in Nevada) and none of them malfunctioned. The injuries and deaths were inflicted as part of a carefully-planned revenge plot by the killer, a disgruntled client of the law firm where the massacre occurred.

Tony Kline reversed a summary judgment in favor of Navegar, despite the lack of any precedent for holding a gunmaker liable for criminal assault, and in the face of numerous decisions from other states declining to impose such liability. The trial court stated that "[i]f plaintiffs want to change the law as it relates to the manufacture and sale of firearms, the way is through the Capitol, not the Court." Kline's ruling, in contrast, ultimately rested on his personal belief that the particu-



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lar semi-automatic models — so-called "assault weapons" — used by the killer had no "legitimate" civilian use (or "social utility"); hence, it was "foreseeable" that the guns would be used for criminal purposes. Kline invented a new tort claim, for "negligently marketing" firearms, despite a statute expressly protecting gun makers from such lawsuits. Court of Appeal Justice Paul Haerle issued a lengthy and carefully reasoned dissent, in which he accused the majority of becoming "the first appellate court anywhere in this land to declare that ... a gun manufacturer owes a duty of care to [victims of] the criminal misuse of its product by a remote purchaser." This, Haerle charged, amounted to "an egregious exercise in judicial legislation." Quite so: If Tony Kline wants to impose his anti-gun views on the rest of the public, he should resign from the bench and run for the Legislature (where, these days,. he would be in good company). But to hold gun makers liable for criminal acts committed by gun users is naked judicial activism. (Yet Kline whines about "judicial independence" when called to account for his lawless policy making.)

Haerle's withering dissent dissected Kline's shabby reasoning as "completely without any appellate precedent whatsoever," and pointed out that Kline ignores 45 years of California case law and decisions from 16 other jurisdictions. Haerle concluded on this note:

> The terrible tragedy of July 1, 1993, in San Francisco will not soon be forgotten, nor should it be. But something else which needs to be kept in mind is the whole issue of *responsibility*, a concept too often minimized in some contemporary legal discourse .... [No one] at Navegar's Florida facility ... pulled a trigger at 101 California Street on July 1, 1993 ....
>
> I regrettably conclude that, by its opinion of today, the majority has abandoned [the] important principle [of judicial restraint].

NAVEGAR HAS vowed to appeal Kline's ruling. Here is a test for Ron George and his "moderate" colleagues: Do they have the backbone to stand up to the prevailing anti-gun hysteria and enforce the rule of law by reversing Kline's activist ruling? We will soon find out. Unfortunately, the anti-gun lobby's strategy doesn't depend on the results of any particular case; the goal is to bury the gun industry in a landslide of lawsuits with the (unrecoverable) expense of defense costs either driving gun makers out of business or compelling surrender. For Navegar, as with civil defendants generally, litigation is a "lose-lose" enterprise.

George W. Bush made news recently by taking snide potshots at Robert H. Bork, a distinguished former jurist in the Frank K. Richardson mold. This is a troubling sign of pandering to the left. Unless Republicans take judicial restraint and the rule of law seriously, and commit themselves to appointing only principled judges, they will consign democratic self-government to political oblivion. Nowhere is a clear difference in philosophy more important than in the judiciary. And nowhere, these days, is it more lacking. On the U.S. Supreme Court, Republican-appointed David Souter and John Paul Stevens vote in lock step with Clinton-appointed Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer. If the Republican presidential nominee won't commit to avoid his predecessors' mistakes, it won't matter who wins the election.

THE WORKING PRESS

# Polanco's Enduring Power

*No one has gained more from the establishment of one-party rule in the state.*

TIM W. FERGUSON

SENATOR RICHARD POLANCO is likely to be the most enduring Latino power in state politics if he can manage the office shuffle required by term limits. As the *Los Angeles Times* noted in a front-page profile this fall, Polanco has extended his reach through effective enlargement of his official Sacramento circle. No one has gained more from the establishment of one-party rule in the state. The flower-

*Tim W. Ferguson is* California Political Review's *press critic.*



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ing of Spanish surnames in the Legislature, a perfectly wonderful reflection of California's shifting population base, in fact has failed to capture the diversity of political views within the Latino electorate (more evident pre-Proposition 187). Sure, there's in-fighting between rival camps that leads to some bloody primaries, but once elected and seated there's a partisan uniformity that enhances the power of a Polanco. And he is not shy about bolstering his base for exploiting this era of Democrat domination. Most notable was the election of ally Richard Alarcon to a Senate seat from the San Fernando Valley, in a bitter race with former Assemblyman Richard Katz. Polanco played a key role with a mass mailing that lyingly accused his old foe Katz of having teamed with Orange County Republicans to intimidate Latino voters at the polls.

THE BLOC voting of Polanco's power base in the Capitol is an increasingly troubling factor that few in the press corps have the stomach to report. But about when the *Times* was profiling Polanco, the ethnic-solidarity act came home to roost in LA and at the doorstep of the *Times* itself.

As this column has noted, the politics of the giant Los Angeles Unified School District merit attention that they rarely get, even from most local journalists. What you have is a system churning out thousands of unskilled and sometimes illiterate kids each year into an economy that even in boom times will never have much to offer them (or vice versa). It's the failure of American education writ large. Massive bureaucracy, union sway, lemon principals, lack of accountability — all here. Finally matters reached such a point that the city's basically unthreatening mayor, Richard Riordan, said enough. He and his business-sector buds assembled and financed a slate that ousted the negligent school-board majority.

The LAUSD is in such a crisis state that it didn't take long for the next shoe to drop. Superintendent Ruben Zacarias, a lifer with the district and favorite son of many ethnic activists, was effectively replaced by a white liberal, Howard Miller, a board member back in the days when "black" was the minority that counted in LA. Necessary as it was, for Zacarias obviously couldn't hack it, the *putsch* set off a firestorm. And no one fanned the flames more than Richard Polanco.

Enter the *Times.* While generally a pap sheet tinged with political correctness, the newspaper has begun to get its back up on school accountability. And its editorials showed rare gumption in supporting Riordan's campaign to reform the school board. When Zacarias was shunted aside, the paper endorsed the move and gently told the old boss to accept his fate and move along. Well, that in itself might have aroused the solidarity soldiers. But what really got them angry was a staff editorial cartoon by Michael Ramirez that showed Polanco, in what the paper later described as "tribal Meso-American dress," about to sacrifice a child "on the slab of racial politics." The interest groups marched in for a meeting with the publisher and others, including editorial-pages editor Janet Clayton (who, interestingly, is black, as is the president of the new school board).

The next day, while still backing the board, the *Times* was creeping back into mealy-mouthedness ("A Goal Everyone Shares") and was even apologizing for the fact the cartoon "was considered by some to be racially offensive." Even in Paul Conrad's worst days, it was hard to remember the editors ever doing such a thing in print after one of his deliberately insulting frames. All the while, of course, the *Times'* roster of limp in-house opinion columnists had nothing to say about the major local controversy, which is ever more apparently just what the skittish publisher wishes.

The drama was playing out as this column goes to bed, but it's a reminder of two things: all politics indeed become local, and there are no "consensus" ways to fix what ails America's urban schools. Goody two-shoes like the *Los Angeles Times* have been taught a useful lesson.

More Sacramento pundits need to be watching how Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa handles the contretemps back in LA. His early involvement was to mediate and dampen the passions. Villaraigosa already was under attack by Latino activists over his efforts to stop a criminal waste of funds in the building of a huge inner-city high school dwarfed only by the cost overruns in its construction. He aspires to run for mayor in what looks like an increasingly difficult straddle of two cultures.

Lots of interesting legislation was rushed through in the Legislature's final days, and thankfully some of it was vetoed by a prudently liberal governor. But you can bet that a payoff to local public-employee unions such as the padding of their pensions (after only 20 years on the job) to a level nearly equal to their work-



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ing pay would sail through. Local taxpayers will quietly be soaked to cover the costs, probably at the cost of diminished public services, and everybody who matters wins. What was a bit surprising was how even the battered remnant of Republicans in the Assembly turned tail and ran. Only 15 opposed the stealth unfunded pay mandate. You didn't read about it, but let's see, where were members like Battin, Cunneen, Frusetta, Granlund, Maddox, Oller, and Robert Pacheco? In the tall grass.

♣ ♣ ♣

In addition to pensions, building up overtime (which in turn can be built into the pension formula) is the other pay racket of local government employees. A few newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Examiner,* bird-dog the abuse of this practice, particularly in "public safety" departments. Naming the individuals in a community who rack up six-figure incomes this way is a useful antidote to the constant cries of poverty from the politically potent police and fire departments. In San Francisco, it especially rankles when the big paydays include staffers at the hated Muni railway.

♣ ♣ ♣

One liberal bill Gray Davis vetoed had some appeal to libertarians even though its parentage was liberal Democrat. It would have restrained the push by local governments to seize cars used in suspected drug and sex deals. Such seizure schemes are a big source of money for municipalities and "toys" for the cops (it can easily cost 25 percent of the value of the car to get it back, even if there is no conviction for a crime). Not too many papers picked up Bob Egelko's file for the Associated Press, which noted that one of the loudest voices for vetoing the bill and keeping expanded police powers in tact was Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown.

♣ ♣ ♣

The dirty secret of the "sustainable growth" and New Urbanism camps is that it is a lot easier to block new development on the fringes than it is to redirect it to older neighborhoods where it supposedly belongs. *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters hoisted some greenies on the old petard: "While the Sierra Club promotes denser 'infill' development of existing urban areas, it is endorsing ballot measures in Contra Costa and Alameda counties that would effectively block denser housing in four already developed suburbs — Pleasanton, Livermore, Danville, and San Ramon — which are close to mass transit." Why don't the limousine socialists just admit it: They've got theirs, and they don't want anyone crowding or encircling them. Just get lost. Maybe state Treasurer Phil Angelides, a former developer who's made much of his efforts to redirect investment to older areas (and received plaudits from the politically reliable *LA Weekly),* needs to have a talk with some of his Democrat allies.

♣ ♣ ♣

With Calnews.com on the Web, why does anyone need to go buy a paper for political news?

THE MIDNIGHT ECONOMIST

# On Lecturing and Teaching

*Learning has less to do with class-size and seminars versus lecture courses than with intelligence, maturity, dedication, courage, imagination, and integrity.*

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

The University of California is in the process of adding another campus. Expansion of the University system raises wonderments and concerns by various criteria. The school, while presenting some elements of strength, is not now what it could be, and making it larger is not likely to help.

Still, it may be suffering dubious criticism on one score. It is common, both by insiders and by outsiders, to complain about very large enrollments in introduc-

*William R. Allen, although allergic to undergraduates in economics courses at UCLA, is beloved by them and is officially a good instructor to them.*



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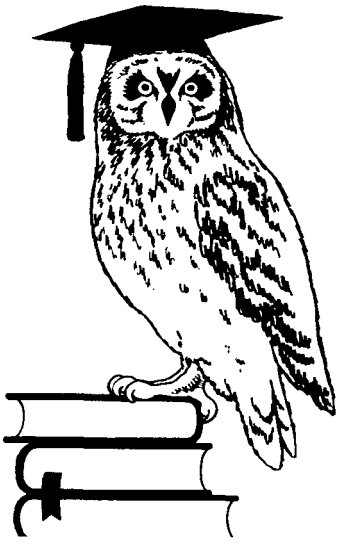
tory survey courses. Sections of the Principles of Economics course usually have around 250 customers. This is decidedly a *lecture* situation, with little possibility of intimate Socratic give-and-take. Some object that the sensitive young scholars are thereby short-changed.

HOW ARE the minds of youths best molded? There are, of course, alternative ways of conducting a college course. There are also several myths pertaining to teaching.

*First Myth:* Of the various alternatives, one teaching approach is best (and one worst) under all circumstances by all criteria. "The" optimal teaching/learning circumstance, format, and procedure is a will-o'-the-wisp; in seeking "the" best educational method, we are seriously led astray at the outset. To recognize that net returns in learning are a function of many variables — including type of material, objectives of the course, number of students, experience of students, talents of the instructor — is to acknowledge that there is no single "best" way and that any of many ways will both yield returns and impose costs.



*Second Myth:* There is something well nigh magical about sitting on a log with a professor — small classes, preferably "seminars," represent that best (and perhaps only) road to intellectual nirvana which is sought in the First Myth. Anyone who really knows about professors realizes that few of them (with or without logs) dispense much intellectual magic. Professor A conversing with one student on a log is not necessarily superior in teaching effectiveness to Professor B lecturing to 250 students. Moreover, Professor B will not inevitably be more effective in log-conversing than in lecturing (although he is likely to find lecturing to, say, 50 people preferable to lecturing to 250). Finally, given the scarcity of resources — and they have been scarce sine the fiasco in the Garden of Eden — it is in order to ask if any gross gains attained from greatly cutting class-sizes would be sufficiently large to warrant attendant costs in concentrating attention on a relative few rather than teaching less intimately a greater number.

Encompassed by the Second Myth are sub-myths, two of which we mention. *First Sub-Myth:* A student cannot light his intellectual fire without the fuel of personal participation in discussion. Doubtless, Socratic navel contemplation can be highly fruitful — and it can also easily degenerate into a barely glorified bull session. It requires for success, if not Socrates himself, special instructor skills, special student talents, special physical circumstances, and possibly special types of subject: articulated classroom participation by all or many students is neither necessary nor sufficient for splendid educational experience. Incessant chatter, however much it may exhilarate, does not make profound the magpie.

*Second Sub-Myth:* Not only does heavy student participation in discussion enable the sensitive young scholar to "find" himself and exhilaratingly grow, but also it checks undesirable dominance by the instructor. The legitimately appointed instructor, being more competent in the subject than is his audience, is properly dominant. But dominance is not dogmatism, whether the class be large or small, and there is little reason to suppose that pontifical abuse of dominance is positively correlated with class size. The dogma-dispensers and dissent-suppressors will not be intimidated into honesty and gentility by minuscular classes.

*Third Myth:* The teaching device, the instructional format, the class procedure are vitally important. The source of a student's success lies vastly more within himself than in his stars or in pedagogical mechanics. The good teacher makes his appreciable contribution and earns his pay: he can sometimes usefully guide study, help on selected difficult matters, and even engender intensified motivation. But at the college level these are marginal contributions. Effective pursuit of the life of the mind has much to do with such things as intelligence, maturity, ambition, dedication, courage, imagination, and integrity; it has relatively little to do with such things as class-size and seminars versus lecture courses.

❖ ❖ ❖

WE DO well to distinguish *university* size from *class* size. There is much economic and pedagogic reason to question enhancement of the flow of resources into the University of California. We need devote relatively little concern to the issue of providing customers with large lecture sections. OPE



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## THE COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

**Statement of support for the three-judge panel decision in**

***Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission,***

**U. S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit**

# Reasonable Balance

Landlords are accused of violating civil rights if they object on religious grounds to being forced to choose between renting to unmarried couples or going out of business. But is it not *their* freedom of conscience and our *own* First Amendment Religious Freedom rights that are under attack?

Did Thomas Jefferson mean to exclude religious believers when he wrote in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ...."? Did the Founders mean to exclude religious believers when they adopted the First Amendment prohibiting infringement of the free exercise of religion? The idea seems ridiculous on its face, but you might think otherwise if you have heard the criticism of a recent court decision upholding religious believers' First Amendment rights. The Declaration and the First Amendment are so firmly embedded in our national heritage and their application to everyone seems so indisputable that we may be tempted to take that universal application for granted. We may forget that these ideas were controversial when first stated; we may not realize that they remain so today. But they are, and when they are challenged, they must be reaffirmed. Unfortunately, they are being challenged now.

This statement is occasioned by the sometimes harsh criticism leveled at the January decision of a panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in the case *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission.* That decision upheld landlords' First Amendment religious freedom rights against actions by the state of Alaska that would force landlords to provide rental property for uses that violate their religious beliefs. We believe the criticism of that decision — as "anti-civil rights" — confuses rather than clarifies what the judges' have said and the critical issues involved. We support this decision as the restoration of a balance of consideration for the unalienable rights of all citizens and for the rule of law.

### The Case

An Alaska statute makes it unlawful "to refuse to sell, lease, or rent ... real property to a person because of ... marital status." The law was challenged by Kevin Thomas and Joyce Baker, landlords in Anchorage who are professed Christians. They believe that renting to unmarried couples is tantamount to facilitating the sin of fornication and so, on religious grounds, refuse to do so. The Court in *Thomas* noted that parties to the case did not dispute "that Thomas and Baker's beliefs regarding fornication are firmly rooted both in Biblical text and in the commentaries of respected Christian theologians."

In a 2-to-1 decision, the Ninth Circuit panel concluded that applying Alaska's law to Thomas and Baker would violate their First Amendment free exercise of religion rights. In addition, following guidelines set down by the U.S. Supreme Court, the justices found Thomas and Baker had made a "substantial argument" that their property rights

**The Committee for Religious Freedom is a California Public Policy Foundation Project**
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under the Fifth Amendment "have been infringed" and "that the Alaska housing laws infringe their rights to free speech" by making it illegal for them to inquire about prospective renters' marital status or to say or advertise that they will not rent to unmarried couples. The justices cited a relevant U.S. Supreme Court holding (in a 1987 case, *Hobbie v. Unemployment Appeals Comm'n)* to support their conclusion:

> Where the state conditions receipt of an important benefit upon conduct proscribed by a religious faith, or where it denies such a benefit because of conduct mandated by religious belief, thereby putting substantial pressure on an adherent to modify his behavior and to violate his beliefs, a burden on religion exists. While the compulsion may be indirect, the infringement upon free exercise is nonetheless substantial.

The Ninth Circuit panel found that "the same 'substantial pressure' to modify behavior and to violate beliefs ... is at work here." They found that "the Alaska housing laws de facto banish both Thomas and Baker from the Alaska rental market altogether and force them to forsake their livelihoods .... [t]he laws do not effect a mere marginal reduction in business; they put Thomas and Baker out of business."

The state argued that eliminating marital status discrimination is a compelling governmental interest, but the Ninth Circuit panel answered that "the government itself discriminates based on marital status in numerous regards, and there is no suggestion that this practice should be re-examined." The state also claimed that upholding Thomas and Baker's free exercise rights would violate the First Amendment by establishing a state religion. The judges answered that "the only palpable injury suffered by an unmarried tenant turned away by a Christian landlord for religious reasons is a marginal reduction in the number of apartment units available for rent. The 'harm' to the rejected lessee, if any, is economic, not religious; as such, it is beyond the pale of the Establishment Clause." The *Thomas* Court concluded that "[b]y exempting Thomas and Baker from the scope of the Alaska anti-marital-discrimination laws, we do not 'establish' or otherwise endorse Christianity as an official state religion. Rather, our opinion 'reflects nothing more than the governmental obligation of neutrality in the face of religious differences.' Sherbert, 374 U.S. at 409. The Establishment Clause does not forbid what the Free Exercise Clause requires."

**This decision applies a central principal of American government: no state may legitimately tell us what to think about religion, morality, or politics.**

### Wise Balance

The wise balance struck by the Ninth Circuit panel in *Thomas,* unfortunately, is contrary to a strong current in law and in our society that would dismiss religious belief as unworthy of equal consideration or standing with secularized ideas about right and wrong — as though Thomas Jefferson and the Founders had meant to exclude religious believers from the Declaration and the First Amendment. For instance, in 1996, in *Romer v. Evans,* the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed traditional Western religious and moral principles about human sexuality as an irrational "animus." In March of this year, California's state Labor Board charged that it violates state law to permit parents to move their children out of classes taught by avowed homosexuals even though the parents object on religious grounds to their children being taught by such teachers. The California Supreme Court was roundly criticized last year for ruling that the state may not force the Boy Scouts to jettison their central tenet of belief in God. And a landlady in Chico, California, was forced by the state to choose between going out of business or violating her religion because she believes renting to unmarried couples is wrong. In none of these cases was religion being forced on anyone; on the contrary, each consisted of an aggressive attempt to force an anti-religious ideology on religious believers: just the sort of state-supported harassment the First Amendment was written to prohibit. So far from being triumphs for civil rights, these instances are the reverse. The First Amendment rights of religious believers are being singled out to be over-ridden. Their loss of rights today presages a loss of those rights to others tomorrow.

Like the Ninth Circuit panel in *Thomas,* we are asking no establishment of or preference for religion — ours or anyone else's. On the contrary, as believing Christians and Jews, we affirm our support for a polity of "we the people" in which all men and women are welcome



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as full participants. We affirm this as fully consistent with — as demanded by — our religious convictions and as essential to American political institutions and freedom. This is no special interest plea. It is a defense of the First Amendment and of equality before the law that is the birthright and a most precious possession of every American.

The Ninth Circuit panel's decision applies a central principal of American government: the proposition that no state may legitimately tell us what to think about religion, morality, politics — the truth about basic questions in general. We call this freedom of conscience, free speech, religious freedom, and other things. It is protected by the *First* Amendment because we prize it so highly. To give this protection life and true meaning, we also, within limits, protect freedom of action that flows from our beliefs. The state may not forbid our peaceful efforts, either on our own or in voluntary cooperation with others, to persuade others to adopt our beliefs. And while we are not free to do *anything* our beliefs may prompt us to want to do, we are generally held free from being forced to act *contrary* to them. Freedom of association, for instance, also protected by the First Amendment, means government cannot compel us to join organizations or efforts or activities repugnant to our consciences. We *are* compelled to pay taxes and to be drafted in wartime, but this is understood as a kind of fee for service rendered: a return for being permitted to live in a nation of laws with the right to vote. It is enforcing a debt, not a *diktat* about what we are to believe, such as a forced renunciation of one's own chosen faith would be. Even in the extreme circumstance of war, conscientious objectors are respected and excused, not from service, but from the specific thing to which their *consciences* object: violence.

We extend this essential freedom of conscience to our property, because to do less would render that freedom, as well as our property rights, meaningless. If we are compelled to make what is our own available for uses we think immoral, either our freedom of conscience or our property rights (really both) are nullified. Our property is an extension of ourselves. If it must serve a purpose against our consciences, it either ceases to be truly ours or our consciences have lost jurisdiction over ourselves.

In defense of the First Amendment and of the great principle of the Declaration of Independence, equality before the law, we support the upholding of religious freedom in *Thomas.*

Ted Baehr, *chairman*
*Christian Film & Television Commission*

Howard J. Klein, *member*
*Toward Tradition Board of Directors*

Francis J. Montgomery
*Montgomery Management*

Pat Nolan, *president*
*Justice Fellowship*

Rev. Robert A. Sirico, *president*
*Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty*

Andrew W. Zepeda
*Lurie & Zepeda*

Thomas E. Dillon
*president, Thomas Aquinas College*

John Kurzweil, *president*
*California Public Policy Foundation*

Mark E. Montgomery
*Montgomery Management*

Rev. Doug Posey, *pastor*
*Calvary Community Church*

Pastor Laurence White
*Our Savior Lutheran Church Houston, Texas*

Hugh Hewitt, *co-host of Life & Times, author of The Embarrassed Believer*

Rabbi Daniel Lapin, *president*
*Toward Tradition*

Rev. Richard John Neuhaus
*president, Institute on Religion and Public Life*

Lori Seyer, *editor*
*Catholic Faith & Family*

Hon. William A. Wilson
*U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican 1982 - 1986*

**Please join us in signing this statement. See the inside front cover of this issue of *California Political Review.***



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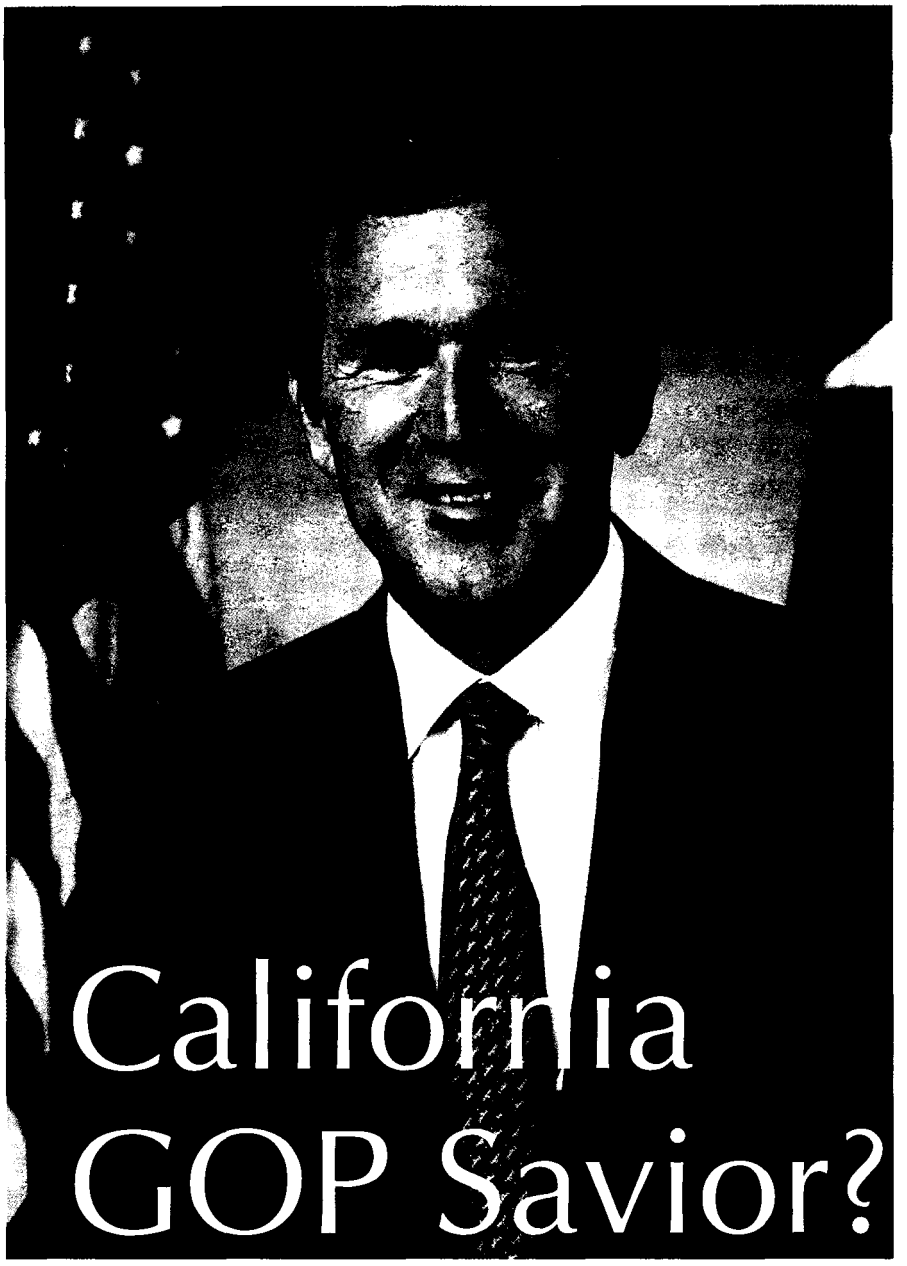


## ☆ Some Bush Ticket-Topping Magic Could Revive California's Two-Party System

by Gregory Sanford

For the first time since 1994, California's electoral tea leaves appear to be forming up favorably for Republicans as the state heads toward the decisive 2000 elections. In one sense, the GOP has nowhere to go but up: controlling only 32 of 80 Assembly seats and 15 of 40 Senate seats, the Party's legislative leverage is close to nil, even on budget votes where the two-thirds requirement for passage might have provided Republicans some bargaining power, but did not, due largely to the Party's legislative members' inability to hold together to fight for any clear overall policy objectives. (See "Tekel," Senator Ray Haynes' report on GOP disunity in this year's budget fight, *CPR*, Sept./Oct. 1999.) Demo-

*(Please turn to page 18)*

## ☆ Starting Gound: Republican Prospects and Challenges in 2000's Legislative Races

by Allison Brennan

Keep your eye on four key elements as Republicans try to begin restoring California's once-healthy two-party system: fund-raising, registration, smart campaigns, and good candidates. The first of these, fund-raising, is considered in the companion essay nearby, so on to the others:

**Registration:** The best way Republicans can throw a monkey wrench into Democrats' gerrymandering plans (aside from winning control of the Assembly or state Senate) is to increase GOP registration in key regions of the state. Gerrymandering, for the uninitiated, is the practice of distributing *your* party's voters efficiently around the largest possible number of districts to assure your side victory in the maximum number of races while jamming the *other* party's voters into as few districts as possible, thus wasting as many of their votes as you can in huge, superfluous majorities and leaving them the smallest possible

*Allison Brennan is a senior consultant for the Assembly Republican Caucus. Gregory Sanford is a freelance writer.*



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number of seats. The gerrymanderer's task is more difficult the more voters the other party has, but current statewide Republican registration sits at 34.99 percent — the lowest in more than two decades. But Republican leaders are seriously committed to registering hundreds of thousands of Republicans before the next election, not only for winning races in 2000 but with an eye toward redistricting. Registration is the first step to winning.

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**Smart Campaigns:** targeted, sufficiently-financed, well-executed campaigns that stay on message should pick up legislative seats. As the sitting majority, Democrats will be able to spend more in contested districts, so, besides raising sufficient funds at least to remain competitive, Republicans *must* activate their base while appealing to swing voters. Also as the sitting majority, Democrats have been able to do pretty much whatever they pleased legislatively, which means they have given Republicans lots of issues to run on, but these must be handled well, and Republicans have had trouble in recent years managing even a coherent message, much less one that connects powerfully with voters while hitting the opposition where it hurts. Stay tuned on this front.

BUT, WHATEVER the message, it must be delivered effectively, by which I mean with money and manpower concentrated in the right places at the right times for the right projects — registration, political advertising, earned media, direct mail, absentee and other vote gathering operations, whatever is most needed and effective — and the California Republican with the best track record in these areas, state Senator Jim Brulte, is now in charge of fund raising at the California Republican Party. Another good sign: former Brulte Chief of Staff and former Senate GOP Caucus Staff Director Tom Ross has just been named state director of Victory 2000, the GOP's overall effort to register voters and deliver California into the Republican column next year. Announcing the appointment, California Republican Party Chairman John McGraw praised Ross's "wealth of political and grassroots campaign experience." A strong Brulte team is forming.

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**Good candidates:** This electoral season will see some promising talent and a few ripe opportunities on the GOP side. With term limits have come more "citizen legislators," a group usually less savvy than traditional career politicos. Thus, finding the right mix of public appeal and leadership talent in key districts is increasingly difficult. Space limitations rule out an exhaustive examination of the state legislative electoral scene, so here is a brief breakdown by region of *some* of the more critical, bellwether, and potentially dramatic races.

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**Los Angeles County:** Republicans are now down to four Assembly seats in the state's largest county, half of what they held in 1994. After redistricting, they could be lucky to have two, with the northern, Santa Clarita/Palmdale/Lancaster section as the last Republican bastion — unless control of redistricting can be wrested from the Democrats.

L.A. County features the Legislature's most vulnerable Democrat, 54th district Assemblyman Alan Lowenthal, the man who never saw a liberal bill he didn't like. Lowenthal's consistent liberal voting puts him at odds with his moderate, Long Beach-based district, which formerly was represented by now-Congressman Steve Kuykendall. Although GOP registration hovers at 38 percent, the 54th is full of retired military and the big issues are defense and crime. Not that the district is a conservative bastion, but neither is it as liberal as Lowenthal. A solid campaign could defeat this one-term incumbent in a region that has a history of throwing out incumbents. In fact, this seat has changed parties four times in the last five elections.

Next door to Lowenthal, liberal Democrat Sally Havice's 56th A.D. is also competitive, and for many of the same reasons as is the 54th: a more-liberal-than-the-district incumbent, a history of throwing out incumbents, and so forth. And because the 27th state Senate District overlaps these two battleground assembly districts, Republicans also have an opportunity to take out incumbent Senator Betty Karnette, who has shown vulnerability in the past. In 1994, then-one-term 54th district Assemblywoman Karnette lost to Steve Kuykendall. She won the senate seat in 1996. The right combination of GOP luck, competence, and hard work could cost the Democrat machine in the Long Beach region.

THE GLENDALE/PASADENA-AREA provides the state's hottest regional battleground. 27th C.D. Congressman James E. Rogan is currently the only Republican representing the area, which includes Glendale, a city no Democrat carried for any partisan office in the three decades before George Bush lost to Bill Clinton there by less than 400 votes in 1992. Success in this region is critical to Republican chances of making significant gains in the state next year, and there are reasons for GOP optimism. Rogan faces a tough contest with 21st dis-



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trict state Senator Adam Schiff, but he beat Schiff in 1994, and can beat him again. Rogan is the better candidate with stronger speaking skills and an outstanding record of achievement.

SCHIFF'S UNWISE decision to challenge Rogan opened up his Pasadena-based senate seat. Like obedient dominoes, "nested" 43rd and 44th district Assemblymen Jack Scott and Scott Wildman leapt forward to battle for the Democrat nomination to succeed Schiff, thereby leaving *both* their assembly seats "Scott-free" — sorry, I mean, wide open. The Democrat races for these *three* open legislative seats will spill a lot of political blood before the primary is over. Republicans *could* win one or more of them while the Democrats lick their wounds.

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**San Joaquin Valley:** While the overall trend in Los Angeles favors Democrats, California's San Joaquin Valley is creeping slowly toward the GOP, providing both Senate and Assembly Republicans their best opportunities to pick up seats. The Valley has consistently voted conservative on issues and people: relatively recently, on Proposition 209 (banning race preferences), and as far back as 1992, backing Bruce Herschensohn for U.S. Senate against Barbara Boxer. And *since* 1992, the region has grown more Republican. Nearly every Central Valley assembly district is competitive and with the right candidates, the right ground game, and enough money, conservatives can win them.

Stockton — Termed-out Democrat Patrick Johnston's 5th Senate District overlaps the 17th Assembly District of termed-out Democrat Assemblyman Mike Machado. Both seats are ripe for Republican picking, as the area's ag-econ denizens might say. In Machado's open 17th A.D., Republican Greg Aghazarian is the odds-on favorite to win the primary and take out the Democrat nominee. Thanks largely to the prodigious efforts of local GOP powerhouse Board of Equalization member (and former Assemblyman) Dean Andal, Republican registration has steeply increased in the 17th. Currently 42 percent Republican and continuing to rise, it is expected to hit 44 percent by election day 2000. The district has historically voted conservative, even when it sends Democrats to the Legislature. After close Assembly victories in a 1991 special election and in 1992 (when registration was less than 34 percent), Andal carried the district handily in his 1994 and 1998 elections to the Board of Equalization. Also, the Congressional district of popular conservative Representative Richard Pombo overlaps the 17th.

Aghazarian, a local attorney and businessman, is a leader in his community and among San Joaquin County Republican activists. He was elected to the school board as the top vote-getter. An articulate spokesman for the Republicans, he is running on a campaign of local control of schools, tort reform, and tax relief, messages that play well in this conservative region. At the recent filing close, Aghazarian had raised more money than all his Republican and Democrat opponents combined. Watch for Greg Aghazarian to win, and quickly rise to the top in the Assembly.

**Tuchman finished *nine points* ahead of Dan Lungren and higher than any statewide GOP candidate except Bill Jones and Chuck Quackenbush**

At the other end of things, Republicans' most vulnerable open seat belongs to termed-out 28th district Assemblyman Peter Frusetta. Frusetta fit this San Joaquin Valley seat like a glove. Voters like his easy-going manner and district roots. Although he barely won in 1994, he did well in both re-elections. But Frusetta's success notwithstanding, the district is not like the Central Valley to the east. It is a majority Hispanic seat and its voters are more liberal. It has a history of racial problems and is one of the few Voting Rights Act seats drawn by the courts in 1992. As Frusetta demonstrated, the right Republican can win here, but finding that right candidate and holding the seat could prove as difficult as picking up another Democrat seat somewhere else. In other words, to win an Assembly majority, Republicans, in effect, must either find a way to hold Frusetta's 28th *and* win nine Democrat seats, or lose the 28th but take *ten* from the Democrats, a pair of alternatives of roughly equal difficulty. If it is to hold the 28th, the GOP's first step will have to be increasing its registration share from the 32-33 percent level where it has stagnated since 1992.

THE BAKERSFIELD/FRESNO-AREA 30th Assembly District has gone back and forth between the parties this decade. Democrats lost the seat to "Republican" Brian Setencich in 1994, the year Republicans under Jim Brulte won a 41-seat Assembly majority. Setencich followed Paul Horcher and Doris Allen in collaborating with the Democrats' 1995 banana republic Assembly regime and, for his



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trouble, also followed them *out* of the Assembly in 1996, losing the GOP primary to Robert M. Prenter. Democrats took the seat back in the Republican collapse of 1998. While one-term incumbent Dean Florez has voted a moderate party line so far, he has a wild liberal streak Republicans could exploit in this conservative, although Democrat-leaning district. No solid Republican candidate has yet surfaced, however.

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**Interesting Congressional Battles to Watch:** 46th C.D. (Orange County) — Gloria Matta Tuchman vs. Loretta Sanchez. In 1998, Tuchman opposed Delaine Eastin for Superintendent of Public Instruction, doing surprisingly well in the midst of a Republican rout. She received 47 percent of the statewide vote, *nine points* ahead of Dan Lungren and a higher percentage than *any* statewide GOP candidate except incumbents Secretary of State Bill Jones (also at 47 percent) and Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush (50 percent). In Southern California, Tuchman carried many precincts lost by every other Republican on the ballot. She co-authored Proposition 227 (overturning bilingual education), which gives her the support of a key group of cross-over voters going in. Her volunteer base rivals most other congressional candidates. Although Sanchez will have more money, Tuchman's grassroots organization and proven vote-getting appeal make this race the Republicans' single best chance to take a Democrat congressional seat.

48th C.D. (San Diego/Orange County) — 18-year incumbent Ron Packard recently announced his retirement from this safe Republican seat (in the 1998 GOP "off" year, Packard received 77 percent of the vote), starting a GOP land rush frenzy to replace him. State Senator Bill Morrow is definitely running. Darryl Issa, who lost a strong primary bid for U.S. Senate to Matt Fong last year, says he is "considering" the race, but local activists think he has decided to go. Others saying they might run include San Diego Mayor Susan Golding, who ran a weak campaign against Fong and Issa, eventually dropping out before the primary, 66th district Assemblyman Bruce Thompson, and — hold onto your hat — Bob Dornan! 74th district Assemblyman Howard Kaloogian considered making this race, but recently said he would not, preferring to run for Congress when, and if, 51st C.D. Republican Randy "Duke" Cunningham retires.

# Sanford

*(Continued from page 15)*

crats own the governor's chair and every other statewide office except Secretary of State and Insurance Commissioner and command a three-to-two Board of Equalization majority. They also hold both U.S. Senate seats and a 27-24 majority even in the Republican Congress's California delegation — all without benefit of a partisan gerrymander. If things remain so when new district lines are drawn after next year's elections, most handicappers see a GOP winter stretching several election cycles into the new millennium.

But, of course, things need *not* remain so. Last year's Lungren disaster induced a sense of impending Republican extinction in California, but that has begun to fade. American voters, even in California, are uncomfortable with one-party rule. And if anything remotely political comes along to bother the voters, the Democrats are the only ones to blame. Also, Pete Wilson is gone. Yes, Wilson won two gubernatorial elections, his 1994 re-election decisively helping (with a mighty assist from Kathleen Brown) sweep Republicans to a 41-vote Assembly majority. But he was also a hugely disruptive force in the state GOP, continually setting off factional warfare and doing his best to divide Republicans from more or less every political principle that makes the Party tick. He overshadowed every other Republican here for most of the decade and, through his transparent cynicism, selfishness, and untrustworthiness, more than anyone else hung the albatross of a terrible public image around the Party's neck that accounts for the gap between what people think of conservative policies (which win in voter surveys) and the GOP candidates and office holders who try to espouse them (the favorable rating drops 12 points when the conservative policies are identified as "Republican").

The most obvious sign of a potential post-Wilson GOP turn-around has been Texas Governor George W. Bush's ability to maintain more-or-less equal support with Algore in the polls even in supposedly one-Party California. This, in turn, is largely traceable (since few voters know much about Bush) to the national Clinton fatigue that has received much comment recently. Throughout the period of popular opposition to the impeachment, some polls — widely ignored by the "mainstream" media except the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page — showed large majorities of Americans saying Clinton deserved to lose his office, although they did not want to see that happen. A contradiction? No — most probably, respondents distinguished between the president's sordid behavior

*(Please turn to page 28)*



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# Big Brother in a White Coat

## Politicized science should carry a surgeon general's warning — it can be hazardous to your health.

**David C. Stolinsky**

*Intellect deteriorates with each surrender to folly. Nonsense does not pass by us, but into us.*

— Jacques Barzun

WHEN EINSTEIN proposed his theory of relativity, he stated publicly that a scientist anywhere in the world could do an experiment and prove him wrong. A genius was willing to admit that he might be wrong and to accept the verdict of authentic experiments. Are we following his example of integrity and intellectual honesty, or do we allow activism and good intentions to substitute for logic and facts? Consider:

✣ Part of the Antarctic icecap broke off and formed icebergs. Scientists blamed this on global warming. But the Greenland icecap is growing, and there are fewer North Atlantic icebergs than in past years. Scientists also blamed this on global warming. That is, diametrically opposite evidence leads to the same conclusion.

✣ Scientists studied the Greenland icecap, expecting that because of global warming, less ice had formed in recent years than in the past. But they found that *more* ice had formed recently. They concluded that with global warming, more water evaporates from the oceans and falls as snow — that is, more ice means a warmer climate! Of course, if less ice had formed recently, that would also support global warming. The scientists could have stayed home, saved time and money, and simply announced that whatever the ice cap showed, it would support the idea of global warming.

✣ Record-high summer temperatures bring comment on global warming. Record-low winter temperatures go unnoticed. Assumptions are never challenged if one is impervious to contrary evidence.

✣ Environmentalists demanded the removal of lead from gasoline. When told that other chemicals must be added to restore anti-knock properties, they said it was not their responsibility. Some of these chemicals proved to be carcinogenic; naturally, oil companies were blamed. Undaunted, environmentalists then demanded the addition of a chemical to oxygenate gasoline. This chemical is seeping into the water supply. Again oil companies, not environmentalists, are blamed. (Laws requiring these additives raise the price of gasoline and thus raise oil-company profits and government tax receipts, but that's another story.)

✣ Activists push for the adoption of electric cars as "non-polluting" or "zero-emission." They do not mention that the electricity must be produced somewhere (somewhere *they* do not live) by fossil fuels, nuclear power, or dams, all of which they oppose. Nor do they mention that car batteries contain either lead and sulfuric acid or nickel and cadmium, which are toxic and might cause dangerous spills after traffic accidents. Presenting information in a deceptive way in order to evoke a specific behavior used to be called propaganda; now it is called health activism.

✣ Engineers warned that airbags could cause serious injury to children and small adults, but safety activists called this obstructionism by the auto makers. The warnings proved correct — airbags save the lives of men but are more likely to kill children and small women. Engineers developed less explosive airbags that should be less dangerous to small persons, but activists strove to retain their original devices. (Of course, laws requiring airbags create a captive market for products most consumers would not buy voluntarily — amounting to about $40 billion to date — but that's another story.)

✣ Anti-smoking crusaders extract billions from tobacco companies to defray the "extra costs" of smoking-related illness. Yet many economists point out that these costs are more than offset by the fact that smokers more often die before they collect social security or pensions, and they less often spend years in nursing homes with the infirmities of old age. (Much of the billions end up in the pockets of trial lawyers, who are among the biggest contributors to politicians, but that's another story.)

✣ Similar suits are being brought against gun makers. Yet studies show that guns save more lives than they take, and

*David C. Stolinsky is a retired physician and former teacher of internal medicine at USC medical school.*



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prevent more injuries than they cause, by enabling law-abiding citizens to fend off criminals. (If such suits succeed, the combination of activist zealots and greedy lawyers could drive any product off the market without bothering to outlaw it through legislation, but that's another story.)

✣ A medical journal reported that the suicide rate for ages 15 to 24 is higher in Seattle than Vancouver and blamed lax gun laws in Seattle. The study is widely quoted as showing that strict gun laws reduce suicides in young people. But the overall suicide rate is the same for both cities, because the rate for ages 35 to 44 is higher in *Vancouver.* Of course, no one claims that strict gun laws increase suicides in older people. To disprove the efficacy of gun laws, the authors apparently would require that suicide rates be identical in both cities for all conceivable demographic groups — an almost impossible condition. Thus the study was virtually guaranteed to support the authors' biases.

TRUTH IS thus not an objective, external reality that we try to discover. Rather, it is a subjective, internal *feeling* of what is helpful to our current agenda. The pattern is painfully clear: (1) Proclaim that a problem, real or not, is a "crisis." (2) Perform "studies," preferably funded by government grants, that are predetermined to yield the desired result. (3) Feel free to ignore, misstate, or fabricate evidence, because your cause is just; of course, all your causes are just, just because they are your causes. (4) Ignore criticism; instead, attack the critics as apologists for killers and polluters. (5) Insist that the "solution" be implemented at once. (6) Ignore any harmful effects of the "solution," or if this is impossible, blame someone else. (7) If the situation improves, announce that the "solution" is working and demand more of it; if the situation worsens, announce that the "solution" hasn't worked yet and demand more of it. (8) Use health fears to force unwanted products or restrictions on the public. (9) Declare that the problem is a "public health emergency," so the democratic process does not apply, and "experts" must decide what is best for us. (10) In short, disguise Big Brother — and his allies in big business and big law — in white coats.

Dangers are usually exaggerated, but they may be minimized. It is estimated that airbags kill more children than school shootings (99 versus 82 since 1993), but to discover this one must read car magazines, not medical journals or newspapers. Environmentalists extoll the virtues of small cars, but perhaps 47,000 additional traffic deaths have occurred since the 1970s because occupants were not in larger vehicles. Environmentalism apparently includes concern for all life except human. In any case, one cannot count on consistent exaggeration; the only thing liars do consistently is lie.

Corrupting science by making it serve various agendas is a crucial breach of trust. If medical scientists report that gun laws lower suicide rates, when in fact the rates are unaffected, do they also exaggerate the benefits of AIDS treatments? If environmental scientists misstate evidence regarding global warming, do they also misstate evidence regarding other ecologic dangers? If health activists deny responsibility for the adverse effects of their actions, can we believe that what they really care about is health, rather than increasing their own control over our lives? If doctors declare that something is rising when in fact it is falling, dare we trust their evaluation of more complex data? If state governments obtain billions in payment for dubious health costs, can we believe their other financial reports? Once we accept that the truth can be twisted to support our favorite cause, we can never know which reports to believe. In an era of technologic dangers, this is not an encouraging thought.

Transforming political questions into health problems is dangerous to freedom, because it stifles debate and short-circuits the democratic process. In addition, this transformation can be physically dangerous. During the impeachment controversy, pundits called opponents of the president "toxic" and "mad dogs." One disposes of toxins before they poison people. One kills mad dogs to prevent the infection from spreading. (Indeed, an actor was cheered when he called for the murder of Chairman Hyde of the Judiciary Committee and of his family as well.) In the 1980s the Contras were called the source of "health problems" in Nicaragua. As rebels, the Contras deserved to be judged on the basis of their actions and aims; as health problems, they deserved to be eliminated. Further along this road are the Nazis, whose anti-smoking activism and enthusiasm for natural foods were based on the idea that the citizen has a duty to be healthy, so that he can serve the state as a productive worker or strong soldier. That is, *health was substituted for ethics* as a guide for one's actions. As a result, Nazis saw the Jews as "disease-bearing rats" and "gangrenous appendices" that had to be removed to protect the public. Medicalized politics should carry a surgeon general's warning — it can be hazardous to one's health.

AN IDEA that cannot be refuted by any obtainable evidence is an irrational belief, not a logical conclusion. One who believes he is right regardless of the evidence, and that being right absolves him from responsibility for the harmful effects of his actions, is not a scientist, but an irrational and potentially dangerous person. Trusting such persons to decide our national policies is equally irrational and dangerous.

John O'Sullivan remarked, "In Europe, the fascists goose-stepped; in America, they jog." Likewise, in America they cloak themselves in the mantle of health activists, environmentalists, anti-tobacco crusaders, or opponents of sport-utility vehicles, but if one looks closely, the brown shirts are visible beneath the white coats.



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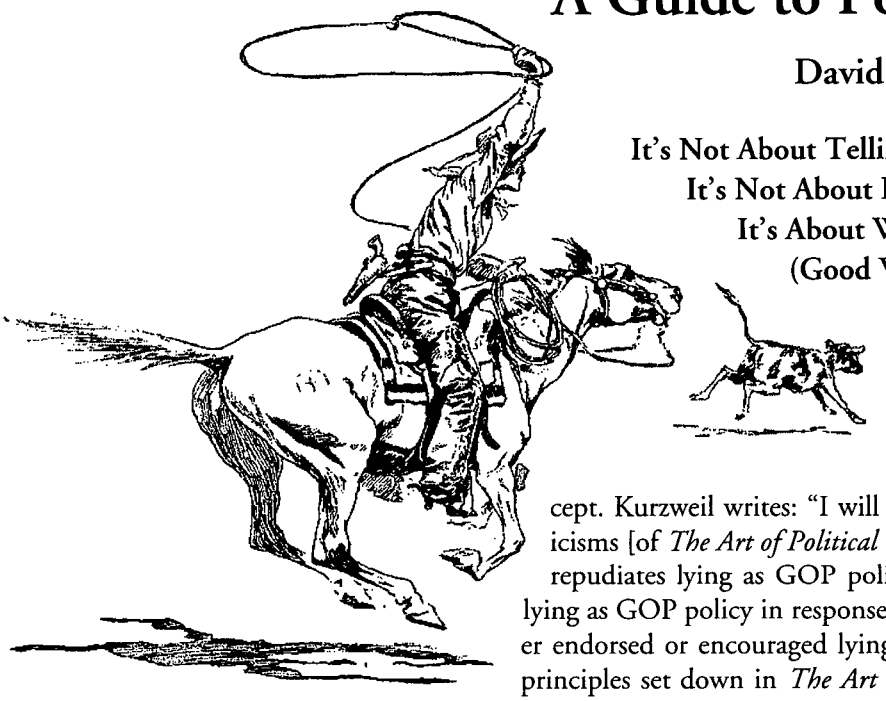
# Truth & Politics
## continued....*

*Dear John,*
*I think this requires one more round. — David Horowitz*



## A Guide to Political Action

**David Horowitz**

**It's Not About Telling The Truth (Good)**
**It's Not About Lying (Bad)**
**It's About Winning**
**(Good When Our Side Does It)**

JOHN KURZWEIL throws down a challenge to me as author of *The Art of Political War.* I accept. Kurzweil writes: "I will gladly retract my major criticisms [of *The Art of Political War]* any time Mr. Horowitz repudiates lying as GOP policy ...." I not only repudiate lying as GOP policy in response to Kurzweil's offer — I never endorsed or encouraged lying in the first place. The very principles set down in *The Art of Political War* would argue against it. Thus "Principle 2: Your task is to define yourself as the friend of as large a constituency compatible with your principles as possible ...." Do people want liars for friends? Do they trust people who lie to them? Would they put their confidence in them and vote for them. Obviously not. The target of John Kurzweil's criticisms is a straw man.

Before trying to get at the heart of our disagreements, let me knock out another straw man: "Mr. Horowitz ... reads my moral concern right out of the discussion. Why? Because the real point at issue here is far more than tactics and even honesty versus lying. It is a contest of wills: man's versus God's. God says don't lie; Mr. Horowitz says do what you have to, as you perceive it to win the political battle .... Mr. Horowitz is unwilling to allow anything, not God, not honesty, not the core elements of our Western political heritage, and, finally, not even the requirements of genuinely good GOP tactics — to trump his determination to do whatever he thinks expedient in his chosen profession."

I have no idea what profession (let alone what person) John Kurzweil is referring to in this

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* California Political Review's *July/August issue carried an article, "Reagan Who?", by* CPR *editor John Kurzweil that criticized* The Art of Political War, *a pamphlet by David Horowitz, president of the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. September/October's* CPR *carried rejoinders from Mr. Horowitz and several Republican leaders, with a "rejoinder to the rejoinders" by Mr. Kurzweil. The entire debate can be read on The California Public Policy Foundation website (www.cppf.org).* The Art of Political War *can be read at the Center's website (www.noleft.com).*



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passage: political consultant for Satan, perhaps? He seems to think I'm in politics just to win, without regard for what principles are advanced by the methods I recommend. There are plenty of people in politics for this reason, but there is a common distinguishing characteristic among them — they are rich, or on their way to getting rich off politics. I have never been paid a consulting dollar, or made a dime off a political campaign. People who have read my autobiography, *Radical Son,* know I have paid a large personal price to get to the views that I now have and that it has become my mission to promote in the political arena. These views are conservative because they seek to protect the founding principles of this nation, and to restore them where they have been damaged or displaced. All of my writings, reveal the moral core of my politics and the moral inspiration for them. Indeed, *The Art of Political War* concludes with a call to Republicans to "remember their heritage as the party of Lincoln, of principle, of the underdog — the party of the American Dream." John Kurzweil should re-read this sentence. I don't see how I could make my moral commitments clearer than that.

The reason I don't argue from moral principles in *The Art of Political War* is because it is not a treatise on ethics. It is a guide to political action. The morality is implicit, and this is what provides Kurzweil with an opportunity to mis-read my text. Most of the attacks on me in John Kurzweil's reply are not really about me, but about the straw man he has constructed. Thus the most damning statements he singles out for criticism are those that have no quotes around them. For a good reason — I didn't make them. Readers of *The Art of Political War* and my other writings will be able to discern this, so I will not answer them in detail. However there is a serious issue that divides us and I will do my best to bring it into focus.

JOHN BELIEVES that lying in all circumstances is forbidden to conservatives, to Republicans, to God-fearing men and women. But is the injunction to be truthful really as simple as John seems to make it? Doesn't one's judgment about the morality of a lie depend on whom the lie is told to and for what reasons? If an SS officer were to ask you where a Jew was hiding and you knew, would it be a sin to say you did not? Would it be a sin to lie to a Soviet spy seeking information that would destroy your country? Dwight Eisenhower lied to Americans (and to the world) to protect the pilot of a U-2 plane the Russians had shot down. Was this wrong? Un-conservative? Would Eisenhower have lost a single vote by doing it? Ronald Reagan claimed he didn't know that Ollie North was being deployed by his own National Security Adviser to raise funds for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. Reagan asked us to believe that when Lt. Colonel Ollie North, an operative on his National Security Committee, brought rich conservatives to shake his hand in the White House, he had no idea that the money was for the freedom fighters. What did he think the money was for? Does John Kurzweil really believe that Ronald Reagan was that stupid or that he didn't care about the men he had compared to our Founding Fathers? Would Kurzweil have a problem with Reagan lying to protect the Presidency and the national interest?

Ollie North himself lied to Congress about his activities for the Contras. He lied to a Congress that included Representative Ron Dellums and other sympathizers with the Communist cause. Liberated documents from Grenada pretty well establish that Ron Dellums identified his own political agendas with those of our Communist enemies and that he conspired with the Marxist dictator of Grenada against the United States in the conflict that led to the invasion of Grenada. Ollie North lied to congressmen like Ron Dellums to protect America's agents who were fighting Communist guerrillas in the field. Does John Kurzweil find this immoral? Does he think that if the American people knew the facts they would turn their backs on Ollie North? If John Kurzweil were Ollie North would he have trusted Ron Dellums and told the truth that he knew, knowing also that it could harm American patriots and American interests?

Kurzweil singles out my comments on the Democrats' campaign to destroy Newt Gingrich as the core of our disagreement. Specifically, he doesn't like my comment that the House Republicans should have "responded in kind" to the Democrats' "spurious" ethics charges in order to neutralize them. He thinks we should let Democrats fight us with gutter tactics while we tie our hands with the Marquis of Queensbury rules. "Spurious," of course, is my term. I'm sure David Bonior would not call his back alley maneuvers and underhanded tactics "back alley" and "under-handed." Nor would he think of his ethics charges as "spurious." I'm sure he convinced himself that a college course taught by Gingrich, called "American Renaissance," was actually a recruiting scam for the Republican Party and therefore deserved a $300,000 fine, a ruined reputation and the termination of a stellar political career. But suppose Republicans had been operating according to my recommendations, done some political research, and had located a college course that David Bonior once taught called, say, "Social Justice." My question is: Would John Kurzweil recommend to the Re-


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publican leadership that they use this information to file an ethics charge against Bonior? If John Kurzweil would recommend such a response in kind, we have no disagreement. If he wouldn't, we do.

John Kurzweil is right to point out that President George Bush lost an election because he broke his word to the American people. But what have I written to suggest that I would not have told him this would happen, and recommended against it? Where do I advocate breaking one's word to the American people?

THIS WHOLE discussion began with a question: Why haven't Republicans been able to gain a secure majority? Why do they lose to Democrats even when Democrats run on Republican platforms like balanced budgets and welfare reform? John Kurzweil thinks he has the answer. It's because the Republican Party changed course "from honesty to humbug and from public service to self-service." But look at President George Bush. Here is a man whom almost all factions will concede is one of the most loyal, decent, honorable and — except for that one decision — honest men in public life. George Bush all by himself refutes John Kurzweil's analysis. Immorality, lack of integrity, selfishness are not the reasons George Bush lost the presidential election of 1992. He lost because of a bad political decision.

**If an SS officer were to ask you where a Jew was hiding and you knew, would it be a sin to say you did not?**

To make the difference between John Kurzweil and myself as clear as possible, let me formulate this as provocatively as I can: The act that caused George Bush to lose the 1992 election — making a deal with the Democrats that resulted in a tax hike — was a responsible act for a conservative president. It was morally sound, but politically stupid.

Let me begin to explain this paradox, by going back to the context in which he signed a budget deal proposed by the Democrats that broke his own pledge not to raise taxes. The Democrats controlled Congress at the time. They controlled the appropriations process. Saddam Hussein had just invaded and conquered Kuwait and his armies were on the borders of Saudi Arabia. As an unpunished aggressor, he posed a threat to the oil supplies of Europe and Asia. President Bush decided that the national interest required that the United States lead an international coalition to stop the aggressor. The Democratic Party, long adjusted to appeasing America's enemies, opposed the President. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the man responsible for America's national security, Bush decided he could not wage a two-front war, one against Saddam Hussein and the other against the Democrats domestically. He needed appropriations for the war effort that the Democrats controlled. He needed their political support to gain authorization for the war effort itself.

These were the reasons George agreed to the Democrats' proposal to raise taxes (since they would not cut domestic spending). Even with his concession to the Democrats, the President got the authorization to go to war by the skin of his teeth. Only Democrats voted in the Senate to authorize the deployment of forces for Desert Storm. The vote was 52-47. If three Democrats had voted the other way, the authorization vote would have failed.

As conservatives, we are against raising taxes. We want to cut taxes. But as conservatives we also want to protect the United States, and the free nations of the world. Moreover, as conservatives, we are realists. The Democrats had the power to sabotage the war effort. The President did not have the power to bring the Democrats to heel. Was the price of higher taxes worth the gain of stopping Saddam Hussein? That was the choice George Bush faced. His answer, yes, is a proper conservative answer.

UNFORTUNATELY, GEORGE BUSH made a political miscalculation fatal to his career. He trusted the Democrats to be honorable men who would not use his good faith and a deal they themselves had proposed to destroy his political career. He was wrong. Once the war was over and won, the Democrats simply ignored their authorship of the tax hike and used it to destroy him. The fact that he had made the pledge of not raising taxes the centerpiece of his 1988 election campaign sealed his fate.

The mistakes Bush made were entirely political. He thought he was dealing with the Democrats of the past, who were concerned about America's national interest and for whom partisanship died at the water's edge. He did not realize how treacherous the Democrat Party and its congressional leadership had become. Thus, he


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did not realize the danger he was in, personally, when he signed on to a deal that he thought necessary to stop a dangerous aggressor like Saddam Hussein.

There were, of course, other political remedies available to George Bush. He could have rejected the Democrats' deal, and waged a public relations war against their appeasement. He could have attempted to shame them before the American people forcing them to support the effort on his terms by cutting domestic spending and authorizing the deployment. This would have been my recommendation, and a very tough assignment, even a risky one. But it was not in George Bush's political profile to do this.

When the war was over, he might still have saved his presidency by dramatizing the reasons he had signed the tax deal. He could have waged a political war against the Democrats who opposed Desert Storm and refused to cut spending to pave the way for the war effort. He could have campaigned in 1992 on the theme that the Democrat Party could not be trusted with the nation's security (although Clinton and Gore had supported the war). Perhaps this would have saved his presidency. But, as a gracious man, George Bush chose not to do so. It was the failure to nail his political enemies at home, to make them pay for their appeasement (not only of Saddam Hussein but of the Soviet Empire before him) that sank George Bush at the polls. It was a political failure, not a moral one.

Let's end this by returning to the original question. Why do Republicans lose when they have a winning hand? Here's an illustrative case. The 41st State Assembly District in California extends from the liberal Westside of Los Angeles through the more conservative San Fernando Valley. This electorate voted 55-45 in favor of ending racial preferences, 70-30 for the three strikes anti-crime initiative, 54-47 for ending illegal immigration and 59-41 against raising taxes on top-tier income voters, but it voted 55-38 to elect Sheila Kuehl, a left-wing gay activist who was a vocal advocate on the *opposite* side of all these issues. Now why did this happen?

To listen to John Kurzweil, the explanation would have to be that Kuehl's Republican opponent was either 1) a liar or 2) not a stand up conservative. In fact, Kuehl's opponent was a fairly typical Republican candidate, an honest businessman and a stand up conservative.

It's the politics, stupid.

Kuehl won because she ran a slick campaign, presenting herself as a "sensible Democrat," responsible and moderate. The Republican campaign was not able to define her as the leftist she actually is. Worse, she was able to project herself as caring and tolerant to a community that also voted 55-45 to raise the minimum wage, 64-36 to legalize marijuana for medical purposes and 67-33 and 64-37 for a tobacco tax that would fund programs for pre-school children.

And there you have it. The voters in the 41st Assembly District do not share all John Kurzweil's conservative values. But then, neither do they share all Sheila Kuehl's "liberal" values. Indeed on at least three crucial, divisive, and defining issues — racial preferences, illegal immigration and class-warfare taxes — they are strongly opposed to Kuehl's views. Yet Kuehl won — and by a landslide. So Sheila Kuehl went to Sacramento where she worked to undermine the Civil Rights Initiative and the Anti-Illegal Immigrant and to raise taxes. That's because Sheila Kuehl knows how to play the political game and Republicans like John Kurzweil don't. ▫▫▫

# Who will defend the other side?

**Who will champion the all-important moral restraints on power, derived from the West's religious tradition, that established our freedom in the first place?**

**John Kurzweil**

AT THE risk of testing readers' patience, I agreed with David Horowitz that this discussion deserves at least "one more round" because it is making progress: the points at issue are being clarified and we now have Mr. Horowitz's repudiation of lying as GOP policy, although it is plain his definition of "repudiation" differs essentially from mine. He even concedes that "George Bush lost an election because he broke his word to the American people," but then takes it all back with the stunning conclusion that Bush's lie "was morally sound, but politically stupid."

Mr. Horowitz's problem is practical: he wants to save the branches of a tree whose roots and trunk he rejects. Western civilization and America's free social and political order grew from the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition that plays no coherent part in Mr. Horowitz's


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did not realize the danger he was in, personally, when he signed on to a deal that he thought necessary to stop a dangerous aggressor like Saddam Hussein.

There were, of course, other political remedies available to George Bush. He could have rejected the Democrats' deal, and waged a public relations war against their appeasement. He could have attempted to shame them before the American people forcing them to support the effort on his terms by cutting domestic spending and authorizing the deployment. This would have been my recommendation, and a very tough assignment, even a risky one. But it was not in George Bush's political profile to do this.

When the war was over, he might still have saved his presidency by dramatizing the reasons he had signed the tax deal. He could have waged a political war against the Democrats who opposed Desert Storm and refused to cut spending to pave the way for the war effort. He could have campaigned in 1992 on the theme that the Democrat Party could not be trusted with the nation's security (although Clinton and Gore had supported the war). Perhaps this would have saved his presidency. But, as a gracious man, George Bush chose not to do so. It was the failure to nail his political enemies at home, to make them pay for their appeasement (not only of Saddam Hussein but of the Soviet Empire before him) that sank George Bush at the polls. It was a political failure, not a moral one.

Let's end this by returning to the original question. Why do Republicans lose when they have a winning hand? Here's an illustrative case. The 41st State Assembly District in California extends from the liberal Westside of Los Angeles through the more conservative San Fernando Valley. This electorate voted 55-45 in favor of ending racial preferences, 70-30 for the three strikes anti-crime initiative, 54-47 for ending illegal immigration and 59-41 against raising taxes on top-tier income voters, but it voted 55-38 to elect Sheila Kuehl, a left-wing gay activist who was a vocal advocate on the *opposite* side of all these issues. Now why did this happen?

To listen to John Kurzweil, the explanation would have to be that Kuehl's Republican opponent was either 1) a liar or 2) not a stand up conservative. In fact, Kuehl's opponent was a fairly typical Republican candidate, an honest businessman and a stand up conservative.

It's the politics, stupid.

Kuehl won because she ran a slick campaign, presenting herself as a "sensible Democrat," responsible and moderate. The Republican campaign was not able to define her as the leftist she actually is. Worse, she was able to project herself as caring and tolerant to a community that also voted 55-45 to raise the minimum wage, 64-36 to legalize marijuana for medical purposes and 67-33 and 64-37 for a tobacco tax that would fund programs for pre-school children.

And there you have it. The voters in the 41st Assembly District do not share all John Kurzweil's conservative values. But then, neither do they share all Sheila Kuehl's "liberal" values. Indeed on at least three crucial, divisive, and defining issues — racial preferences, illegal immigration and class-warfare taxes — they are strongly opposed to Kuehl's views. Yet Kuehl won — and by a landslide. So Sheila Kuehl went to Sacramento where she worked to undermine the Civil Rights Initiative and the Anti-Illegal Immigrant and to raise taxes. That's because Sheila Kuehl knows how to play the political game and Republicans like John Kurzweil don't. ▫▫▫

# Who will defend the other side?

**Who will champion the all-important moral restraints on power, derived from the West's religious tradition, that established our freedom in the first place?**

**John Kurzweil**

AT THE risk of testing readers' patience, I agreed with David Horowitz that this discussion deserves at least "one more round" because it is making progress: the points at issue are being clarified and we now have Mr. Horowitz's repudiation of lying as GOP policy, although it is plain his definition of "repudiation" differs essentially from mine. He even concedes that "George Bush lost an election because he broke his word to the American people," but then takes it all back with the stunning conclusion that Bush's lie "was morally sound, but politically stupid."

Mr. Horowitz's problem is practical: he wants to save the branches of a tree whose roots and trunk he rejects. Western civilization and America's free social and political order grew from the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition that plays no coherent part in Mr. Horowitz's


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plan to save our culture and freedom. The contradiction is plain in his attitude about honesty: truthfulness is good, but lots of times it isn't. He asks: "Doesn't one's judgment about the morality of a lie depend on whom the lie is told to and for what reasons?" And I answer: Not in the Western tradition where, first, morality is considered a real thing, and thus not subject to personal preference. Once men believed the world flat, but their opinion did not flatten it. Just so, if lying is immoral, I may wish it otherwise, but cannot make it so. Second, the Western tradition, consequently, answers such questions as whether lying is moral not with reference to personal judgment but by consulting authority. God commands us: do not lie, and provides no authority for suspending that commandment. If we suspend it anyway, even if we believe we have excellent reasons for doing so, we will find, when we go looking for it again, that the authority and the coherence it gave our moral position is gone. See, for example, how Mr. Horowitz has handled this dispute with me, which, if I may, I will summarize here, at least as it reads to me, beginning with his booklet, *The Art of Political War:*

> Horowitz: Republicans are political dilettantes losing because they do not know what Democrats know: that, in politics, only expediency matters — if, for instance, filing "plainly phony charges" helps your cause, you do it. It's the politics, stupid!
>
> Kurzweil: But that's dishonest and the freedom conservatives would conserve is built on honesty, in the form, for example, of rule of law. It also flaunts America's founding Declaration that God's law governs rulers as much as ruled. What have we won if we lose all that?
>
> Horowitz: You're living in a child's world — everybody lies. Your ideas won't work here.
>
> Kurzweil: They *did* work here — at the Founding and as recently as the 1980s. What hasn't worked has been Republican lying *since* the '80s. You urge a course Republicans are already on and that is failing them now.
>
> Horowitz: I don't say lie — I never did, never — even though lying to the SS is the only decent thing to do, as is lying to Congress if Ollie North does it, or to the people if Reagan or Bush have any expedient reason to do it. *You* want to let Democrats fight us with gutter tactics while we tie our hands with the Marquis of Queensbury rules. Anyway, while we *know* Reagan consciously lied about Iran-Contra, David Bonier deserves the benefit of the doubt. I may have said the charges were "plainly phony," but he probably believed they were true. I may call it "gutter tactics," but that doesn't mean "responding in kind" means lie. One more thing: you're right, Bush *did* lose politically by lying, but he had a good reason to lie, so that makes it moral. It was still bad politics, however, which returns us to my main point: we want to win, something moral rectitude won't guarantee and that lying and moral incoherence doesn't preclude — just look at Sheila Kuehl, she packages herself well, her GOP rivals package themselves poorly, so she wins — that's it. It's not about telling the truth (Good). It's not about lying (Bad). It's about winning (Good When Our Side Does It). *You* don't know how politics is played.

**True religion acts politically not by creating driven, fanatical tyrants, but through mild but firm reminders that no expedient justifies breaking God's law.**

In C.S. Lewis's *Screwtape Letters,* senior devil Screwtape reminds apprentice tempter Wormwood that it has been centuries since "the humans" knew "when a thing was proved and when it was not." In those days, it is true, if a thing "was proved they really believed it. They still connected thinking with doing and were prepared to alter their way of life as a result of a chain of reasoning." No more. "Your man has been accustomed, ever since he was a boy, to have a dozen incompatible philosophies dancing about together inside his head." Meet David Horowitz, who is not political consultant for Satan, just a man who argues one defense of lying after another but still maintains he "never endorsed or encouraged lying in the first place." Like many Republican strategists, he rationalizes duplicity too nimbly, and urges it on Republican candidates. He sees that lying brought down George Bush, but refuses to see what voters saw: that at the crucial moment Bush failed us; we trusted him and saw the first strong wind carry him away. He refuses to see that this is craven leadership, that he is rationalizing more of it, and that it is destroying his Party as it destroyed Bush.

MR. HOROWITZ implies in his section on Sheila Kuehl that I think honesty is sufficient to win any election and that therefore we need not craft our message well. Of course I never argued such nonsense, but to avoid misunderstanding, I should say I agree with him that cold facts are not enough. Heritage studies fill a crucial role, but much more is required. We must connect with peo-


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ple. I also agree we can learn from Democrats, but we must understand them and what they are up to better than Mr. Horowitz does. Here again, his unwillingness to consider religion's central role in all our politics keeps him from seeing that Democrats connect with people because they convey a quasi-religious message; what Whittaker Chambers described as "man's second oldest faith: ye shall be as gods," and, elsewhere, as "man's mind displacing God as the creative intelligence of the world." People who have lost faith in God, as G.K. Chesterton pointed out, do not believe in nothing, they believe in everything. Democrats give people *something* in which to place their faith, as shabby and famished a hope as it is. Thus, Mr. Horowitz is wrong to say that people will not trust liars and vote for them; sometimes they will and do: when they decide, out of despair, fear, or self-indulgence, that the lie is what they want to hear. Another time is when lies are *all* they hear from every corner and so must choose the least obnoxious lie and liar. A Democrat liar, who makes no pretense to honesty, is less painful to endure for many people than a Republican liar who advances himself as champion of, as Paul Gigot put it, "the Party of personal responsibility." Also, a Democrat seems much more predictable and less worrisome, since he has evidently come to rest in his natural political and moral home. But a Republican liar seems bent on having the world both ways, an impossible contradiction that can be expected to lead to all sorts of weird, unpredictable behavior — like Dan Lungren opposing the Unz anti-bilingual education initiative. If the choice is between an angel who thinks he might be better off a devil, and a devil certain of who and what he is, many people will choose the devil who at least knows what the hell he is trying to do.

Mr. Horowitz lays out the problem: Republicans do not connect with people. And he leads us to the verge of the solution, but, because the answer is religion, he backs off, lamely substituting effective packaging — "sound bites" — as *the way* to confront the great political, moral, human conflicts of history and of our times. It turns out *Mr. Horowitz* is the one who wants to "tie our hands," but not to keep us from descending to "gutter tactics." That would be OK. What we *cannot* borrow from Democrats is the understanding that religion is what moves people.

AMERICA WAS not built on sound bites, although messages well-conveyed are always part of winning politics. I would like to close with two examples from the roots of our history that illustrate how, in fact, our free institutions *were* built. Both show how true religion actually works in relation to politics, not by creating the driven, fanatical tyrants of false, man-based religion, but through mild but firm reminders that no expedient justifies even the most powerful human ruler in breaking God's law. True religion acts politically as a restraint on otherwise unrestrained tyranny.

IN THE year 258, the Roman Emperor Valerian was conducting a ferocious persecution of Christians. In the empire and its head, the Church confronted an absolute power far beyond, in earthly terms, anything the modern world has seen. Even Soviet communism, for all its totalitarian absolutism, always had to restrain its activities, even against its own population, out of respect for the power of the free world. No such competing military or economic power existed to restrain Rome in the third century. But it recognized that the Church represented a potentially fatal threat merely by proclaiming the limits of Rome's authority under God. If men could put God before the Emperor, the whole enslaving apparatus could disintegrate because it was built on a lie: that no power existed above Caesar.

Valerian seized Pope Sixtus II and two of his deacons, martyring all three on the same day. Before the executions, a third deacon, Lawrence, told the Pope he wished to die with him, but Sixtus told Lawrence he would follow him three days later. The Pope, foreseeing Valerian's persecution, had instructed Lawrence, who had charge of Church property, to sell off whatever could be sold in anticipation of being forced underground. The emperor evidently spared Lawrence upon hearing that he was appearing in the market with chalices and such to sell. He called the deacon before him, demanding to be shown all the Church's treasure so he could steal it. Lawrence asked for and was given three days to gather and produce it. He spent the time assembling a great number of the poor to whom he ministered. Bringing them before Valerian, Lawrence said "Here is the Church's treasure." The furious emperor, to make an example of Lawrence, ordered him laid on a gridiron and slowly roasted to death. "From that time," a history of St. Lawrence reports, "idolatry began to decline in Rome." That is, the Church's purpose, turning men from idols to God, was served directly, with the emperor's unwitting assistance. Only indirectly, and not from any political intention, was a mighty blow struck against the idea — Caesar's, *i.e.*, man's, omnipotence — that underlay and made possible the tyranny of Rome. It was *not* the politics, stupid! It was the honest truth, honestly lived by men willing to die rather than deny it, about man's subservience to God.


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In 313, Emperor Constantine established Christianity as a legal religion within the empire, but opposition to the Church did not end; it merely moved inside the establishment. Replacing overt persecution, a heresy named for its founder, Arius of Alexandria, denied that Jesus Christ was God and struggled for control of the Church. At one point around the middle of the fourth century, the Arians gained the support of most of the bishops throughout the empire, and carried on a campaign of persecution, banishment, and murder against Christians who would not become Arians. By about 380 the Arians were finally subdued in the east, but the imperial court in the western empire continued to support them, and Italy became a haven for the heretics. In Milan, they produced an Arian bishop and with the support of the western emperor, Valentinian II, himself an Arian, they demanded that the Christian bishop of the city, Ambrose, give them one of the Milanese churches for their use. Ambrose was summoned to the imperial palace and before the assembled court was asked to deliver the church then called the Portian Basilica. Ambrose answered:

> Do not, O Emperor, embarrass yourself with the thought that you have an Emperor's right over sacred things. Exalt not yourself, but, as you would enjoy a continuance of power, be God's subject. It is written, God's to God, and Caesar's to Caesar. The palace is the Emperor's, the churches are the bishop's.

Writing about this episode, John Henry Newman contrasted St. Ambrose's response with that of clergymen of his own day (the 19th century) who, Newman wrote, "have sometimes forgotten, sometimes made light of their own privileges."

> Accordingly [he continues], when a question arises now about the spoliation of the Church, we are obliged to betake ourselves to the rules of *national* law; we appeal to precedents, or we urge the civil consequences of the measure, or we use other arguments, which, good as they may be, are too refined to be very popular. Ambrose rested his resistance on grounds which the people understood at once, and recognized as irrefragable. They felt that he was only refusing to surrender a trust. They rose in a body, and thronged the palace gates. A company of soldiers was sent to disperse them; and a riot was on the point of ensuing, when the ministers of the Court became alarmed, and dispatched Ambrose to appease the tumult, with the pledge that no further attempt should be made on the possessions of the Church.

This did not end the Arian effort. The campaign, continuing for years, included imperial-backed plots to kidnap Ambrose and orders that he leave the city, two attempted forced seizures of churches by imperial troops which also led to near-riots, imprisonment and heavy fines for those seen as supporters of the Church, accusations by Valentinian that Ambrose sought to domineer over his emperor, and a blockade by troops of the bishop's basilica which ended after the people within sang psalms and other sacred songs so movingly that the soldiers, affected by the music, took part in them and then, evidently, drifted away.

At the height of the crisis, when the Emperor asked him to leave the city, St. Ambrose delivered a sermon in which he said "I could not, for an instant, entertain the thought of deserting the Church, in that I feared the Lord of all more than the Emperor of the day: in truth that, should force hurry me off, it would be my body, not my mind, that was got rid of; that, should he act in the way of kingly power, I was prepared to suffer after the manner of a priest." Finally, the Arians quit.

HOW DOES a conservative "connect" with the people? By remaining loyal, like Saints Lawrence and Ambrose, to the truths of our Western heritage, whatever the cost as the world measures value. This is the great question of our politics. The Democrats have their answer: that our religious, moral, political culture and heritage is outworn, irrational, unjust, and deserving only to be overthrown and replaced by the enlightened, post-God mind of man. Everything from their individual shameless lying to their vast corporate schemes to grab godlike control over our lives follows this premise and serves it. Thus, they subjugate their politics to one side in the ultimate religious conflict, and derive their power from it accordingly. The important question is: who will defend the other side? Who will defend our freedom against these would-be tyrants? Who will champion the all-important *moral* restraints on power, introduced into the equation historically by the West's religious tradition, that established our freedom in the first place? Republicans ask voters to trust *them* to be their champion in this bedrock cause. Ronald Reagan understood this; he understood that the Republican purpose was not merely winning elections and holding offices — what do the people care about that? Are they happier when it is a *Republican* who is aiding and abetting the tyranny of ruinous taxation and regulation, of lawless judges, of schools that teach nothing, of debilitating welfarism? No. Mr. Horowitz's heading, reducing everything to the formula: It's About Winning (Good When Our Side Does It), encapsulates just what is wrong with the Republican Party today. Our job is


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to convince voters that electing Republicans is the best means to achieve the true end: human freedom. Instead, we project a smug, Wilsonite self-satisfaction with our contention that *our* winning offices *for ourselves* is our true end, and if we have told a few lies to the voters along the way, asked for their trust and then treacherously betrayed it, shown ourselves the worst possible champions for a cause whose power is altogether moral, shown ourselves the last people on earth on whom anyone should bestow any trust, so what? It isn't about truth or lying, just winning, and if that sometimes means suckering the rubes out there, too bad. This is a guaranteed formula for Republican irrelevance, and it is working out as exactly that.

## Sanford

*(Continued from page 18)*

which, they agreed, deserved punishment, and the national trauma of tossing out a sitting president which, presumably, they believed the nation (meaning themselves) did *not* deserve. Whatever the explanation, its plain that vast numbers found Clinton revolting and now appear to be registering their judgment through opposition to his hand-picked successor.

Top-of-the-ticket politics can influence down-ticket races decisively, as Wilson's re-election, combined with the national swing to a GOP Congress, did in 1994. Similarly, the Dole 1996 and Lungren 1998 fiascoes helped sink GOP legislative fortunes, and a Bush sweep next year could prove the catalyst for a GOP Assembly resurgence. Wilson carried 54 Assembly districts in 1994 when GOP candidates were gaining eight seats to win 41. In 1998, Lungren carried only 17 Assembly districts and Republican seats dropped to 32. Now, Republican state Capitol strategists are circulating surveys showing Bush leading Gore in 55 Assembly districts. In addition, Bush's huge, early fundraising success also helps. In 1992 and 1996, GOP presidential campaigns fought from behind in the polls, especially here, and had to scramble for cash for themselves. Both times, California was conceded early to the Democrats and visited by Republican standard bearers only to be milked for campaign funds that were spent elsewhere — not a formula for inspiring voters.

This time, Bush has already received the maximum legal contribution from a large portion of his California supporters who are capable of giving it and many of these donors want to do more. National and California Republicans, apparently sick to death of Clinton, are galvanized in their determination to retake the White House. Nothing shows this so convincingly as their having given some $60 million already to a candidate they still know little about. And the state is definitely "in play" for the Republican nominee as it never was in '92 or '96. A Bush victory here would be a knock-out blow to any Democrat, and even a tough, competitive GOP loss would force Democrats to divert lots of cash and other critically important resources to California, keeping them "at home," so to speak, in *their* backyard, instead of out attacking Bush in *his* backyard or in other swing states. So Bush is already returning to help raise funds for the state Party's Victory 2000 effort.

Another good reason to expect major Republican activity in California is the recent naming of Senator Jim Brulte as state GOP finance chairman. Brulte is a legendary fund-raiser and a proven political strategist. He planned and carried off 1994's election of 41 Republicans to the Assembly, the only such victory of the past three decades. Brulte knows the Party needs more than top-of-the-ticket T.V. spots. Expect an aggressive "ground game" effort: voter registration, Get-Out-the-Vote, absentee ballot drill, and so forth, that should begin, finally, to match the unions' massive ground effort for Democrats. This will serve not only every GOP candidate, but will also help the conservative cause on ballot measures.

## Hannaford

*(Continued from page 5)*

search and reading to produce this book. Along the way to writing a biography, however, he seems to have decided that what he really wanted to do was produce an arty, novelistic treatment to impress his literary friends.

Ronald Reagan's life and career are the stuff of great biography. He was one of the most important figures of the century. Yet Morris, in his search for some mysterious "key" to his subject, could not accept the fact that Ronald Reagan was a relatively uncomplicated man whose ideas evolved into a philosophy about government and the world that gradually attracted an army of like believers. Beneath his affable exterior he pushed his central ideas — defeating communism, reducing taxes, and containing Big Government — with steely determination. That he succeeded at most of what he set out to do is there for all to see, but Morris refuses to see that there was no great mystery to Ronald Reagan; that what you saw and heard was what you got.

George Skelton, who covered Reagan for the Los Angeles Times for two decades, drew this conclusion about Dutch: "Save your $35 and buy a new Reagan license plate for $50. It goes to a good cause — children's tours at the Reagan Library."



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CRITICUS

# The Year's Midnight

BY G.B. TENNYSON

*'Tis the year's midnight, and it is the day's,*
*Lucy's, who scarce seven hours herself unmasks.*
— John Donne

CONSTANT READERS will remember that in the penultimate Criticus column they were promised that the next one would feature the annual Criticus dog days roundup of the follies and absurdities of the past year, that is, the year since the dog days column of the previous summer. Instead, they got the Critical disquisition on Las Vegas. The reason had only to do with timing, Las Vegas having interposed herself like a very hussy demanding to be seen and heard and, of course with Criticus behind the pen, judged. Some Constants may even have preferred reading about Las Vegas to reading about other sorts of follies. I know of one who lamented that on a recent family jaunt that passed by Las Vegas he was overruled in his desire to examine the New Vegas of Critical record. On the other hand another Constant passing the desert Babylon opined: "Pull the plug on it."

Whatever side you come down on regarding Vegas, you will still be in need of a periodic updating on other follies. Thus Criticus offers you now a year's end rather than a dog days' roundup of the ongoing lunacies of the world, a nocturnal for the short days of the year. The shortest of those when John Donne was writing was St. Lucy's Day, December 13. This year, centuries after calendar reform, it is December 22, which lacks the distinction of a saint as colorful as Lucy for whom in Sweden they still celebrate a festival of lights. For the 22nd the saints that my most diligent investigations could come up with include the likes of Flavian of Aquapendente (362), Amaethelu of Wales (6th century), Hunger of Utrecht (866), Amaswinthus of Malaga (982), and finally a Blessed Jutta of Dissibodenberg from 1136. I doubt that even the late Jennifer Patterson of "Two Fat Ladies" fame could offer a receipt (her preferred term) for a dish appropriate to one of these, though she might have felt free to come up with almost anything for such a saint as Hunger of Utrecht. I'd guess a plum pudding or a fruit cake, especially the old unreformed southern kind with dark dough and every kind of fruit and nut, the sort of cake that Criticus in the face of all fashionable ridicule admits to liking. (Take that, Johnny Carson!) The trick is to swaddle it in soft cloth drenched with brandy or bourbon and let it mature for some

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weeks or longer before slicing into it on St. Hunger's Day and topping your portion with whipped cream. Just the right *amuse gueule* to start your feast on the following catalogue of inanities.

## Apology Corner

EVER SINCE Criticus first began noting the modern obsession with demanding and giving apologies for past acts of persons, groups, and governments, and ever since he began offering what seemed like far-fetched instances of things that could still be apologized for, reality has outstripped fantasy. It's what makes the satirist's job so difficult nowadays. The most recent and inordinate apology to come along in the past year or so is the apology for the First Crusade. Yes, Constant Readers, I refer to that act of extreme and perhaps foolhardy daring committed in 1099 and followed over several centuries by other similar efforts to conquer, or reconquer, the Holy Land for Christendom. On the exact day this year (give or take the ten that got lost between John Donne and us), nine hundred years after the first Crusaders sacked Jerusalem, that is, on July 15, some fifteen-hundred American and European apologists descended upon the city to apologize to one and all for the acts of their ancestors in carrying out the Crusade.

**On July 15, some fifteen-hundred American and European apologists descended upon Jerusalem to apologize to one and all for the acts of their ancestors in carrying out the Crusade.**

WHAT A lunatic sight this must have been. Some fifty or so had actually retraced the steps of the original Crusaders and wore, rather than the armour of a Red Cross Knight, specially made tee shirts showing a jagged red line from the Rhine Valley through the heart of Europe and down into Lebanon, the route of the first Crusade. The point was to show how the Crusade tore apart rather than united Christendom. Most non-Crusaders, however, came to Israel by modern transportation. All carried printed apologies in Arabic, Hebrew, and Turkish, which they pressed upon the often suspicious people on the streets of Jerusalem who were widely described as skeptical of what was going on because the place is overrun, especially this year, with religious zealots trying to convert the locals to Christianity before the arrival of the Millennium and the Last Days. (It is obvious that Criticus's animadversions on the mistake of thinking that the year 2000 is the beginning rather than the end of the millennium have gone unheeded. Even the Pope appears to have been lured into this error and is planning to visit Ur to see the birthplace of Abraham. Worse, some specialists argue that the Pope has chosen the wrong Ur, there being several of that name, giving rise to Criticus's *bon mot* that the Pope seems to have made the Ur-Error.)

Now all of this seems to Criticus slightly daft, however well intentioned; and, as noted, it seemed rather suspect to the locals. It did lead Criticus to read up a bit on the First Crusade and to realize how very bloody it was, even by modern standards. First, tell the well-behaved children to stop reading now, for what follows encapsulates vivid reporting by those who were there and is suitable only for little boys who play modern video games and exult in the idea of mayhem and carnage.

It took the Crusaders — initially about 35,000 in number, swelled at one point by 20,000 so-called People's Crusaders, that is, non-soldiers, filthy vagabonds, homeless derelicts, women and children — about three years to make the march, committing many barbarities on the way, such as repeated cannibalism, sometimes without bothering to barbecue their victims first. They also died in great numbers, so that by the time they reached Jerusalem they were down to 10,000 soldiers and 1,000 knights. The city was in Muslim hands and an army from Egypt was en route to relieve the siege, so the Crusaders attacked with an unparalleled ferocity, such that the 11,000 Crusaders, often wading in blood up to their knees, in thirty-six hours slaughtered all the 40,000 Muslims and 6,000 Jews inside the walled city. They slit open the bellies of the dead to extract the coins that had been swallowed to hide against theft, compelled the few remaining Saracens to drag the rotting bodies outside the city walls onto piles as high as buildings, and then slew the Saracens. Those are just the high points.

As for apology, the priest Fulcher of Chartres, who was there, said the massacre had "cleansed Jerusalem



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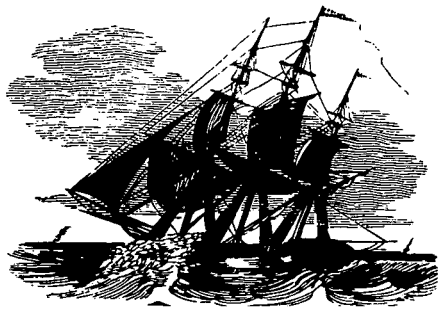
from the contagion of pagans." No lily-livered liberal he.

Well, you might say, after all that, it's high time that fundamentalist Fanny from Fayetteville and Pastor Perry from Peoria should apologize. But is it? Surely not a single modern pilgrim really knows whether any ancestor actually participated in any Crusade, nor for that matter whether any modern resident of Jerusalem is actually descended from the forty-odd thousand victims. And neither modern Crusader descendants nor victims personally prospered or suffered from the events. That doesn't matter, say the contemporary un-Crusaders, who see some sort of collective guilt by virtue of belonging to a given society. In fact collective guilt about the conduct of persons centuries dead is the safest kind to have: it makes you feel virtuous without having to be virtuous.



**The African World Reparations and Reparation Truth Commission are demanding that the West pay Africa $777 quadrillion in reparation for the slave trade.**

BUT COLLECTIVE guilt-bearers had better beware. As should the rest of us. For when the guilt comes a little closer in time, then the offended parties begin thinking in modern terms. Which is to say money and reparations. Thus it is no surprise to find in the Apology Corner demands on the British government in the amount of $5.9 million from the descendants of the blacks who were enlisted to fight along with Col. Robert Baden-Powell on the British side in the Boer War and specifically in the battle of Mafeking (now being spelled Mafikeng) that made Baden-Powell's reputation as a war hero. It also inspired him to found the Boy Scouts and his sister to found the Girl Guides, who became the Girl Scouts in the U.S. Perhaps these organizations can also be sued, each member assessed a few pennies a month or each troop the price of a few boxes of cookies. There is little question that the black fighters from the Baralong tribe were indeed ill-used by the British Army, promises to them were not kept, and they were allowed to starve during the siege while the white troops ate reasonably well. This sort of thing is not unheard of in the history of foreign colonies, not least among the British, who do have the distinction of having set up the first concentration camps during that same Boer War. Of course all this is now 100 years ago, so hampers from Fortnum and Mason can never reach the starving defenders. But why shouldn't their great great grandchildren dine better than they do? As of July this year the Baralong tribe was estimated to number about 85,000, but the chief of it says the real number is closer to 500,000. If so, that measly $5.9 million is going to have to be increased.

That such a sum as $5.9 million is indeed paltry must have been in the minds of the African World Reparations and Reparation Truth Commission meeting in Accra a month after the Baralong demand. This apparently self-created body is demanding that the West pay Africa $777 quadrillion *[sic]* in reparation for the slave trade, for lives lost through the trade, and for gold, diamonds, and other minerals taken from Africa during colonial rule. The group is also demanding that those in the African Diaspora who want to return should have transportation provided for them to do so. The claim is that at least 12 million Africans were shipped across the Atlantic to South and North America and the West Indies. The estimate that an additional 20 million were exported to other parts of the world, mainly the Middle East and North Africa, does not seem to have prompted the Reparations committee to demand reparations from, say, Arabia, but surely there's plenty of oil money there, though the sums in question all dazzle Criticus. Let us ask a Boy or Girl Scout with a mathematics merit badge, if such there be, to calculate how much 20 million ought to bring if 12 million are worth $777 quadrillion. Then let us ask the Reparations Commission whether "exported" is reparation talk for "sold."

Back in mere semi-comic reality, be it noted that the Australian government in a parliamentary declaration officially "regretted" its treatment of the Aborigines during its 200-year history, using such language as "deep and sincere regret that indigenous Australians suffered injustices under the practices of past generations, and for the hurt and trauma that many indigenous people continue to feel." Sounds pretty humble, but many in the Aborigine community were dissatis-



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fied that the word "sorry" had not been used in the declaration. It must mean that Australia really loves them.

FINALLY, HERE in Apology Corner, note that the Metropolitan Kallinikos speaking for the Holy Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church has ruled out a hoped-for visit by the Pope to Athens as part of his tour of biblical sites, the one that will include the possibly faux-Ur, unless and until the Pontiff apologizes for the schism of 1054, the Council of Lyons II in 1274, and, you guessed it, the Crusades, especially the one that led to the sacking of Constantinople in 1204. I say just let the Pope hire those Jerusalem pilgrims to go to Athens, preferably on foot, with new tee shirts, this time written in Latin and Greek. They could then hire out to other interested parties working through Apology Central and go all over the world apologizing. They might begin in Arabic dress by touring Spain to apologize for the Moorish conquest, then dressed as Conquistadors move on to Mexico and Peru apologizing for the conquests of the Aztecs and the Incas, then befeathered as Aztecs move through the country of Aztlan apologizing for the Aztec tyranny over the native Indians, finally offering themselves as modern-day equivalents of the countless human sacrifices that the Aztecs inflicted on the ancestors of modern Chicanos.

**Another sometime overlooked group, at least in this country, namely Muslims, has been accommodated in England where a retirement home has been designed so that none of the lavatories faces Mecca.**

### PC Corner

Not a day goes by, scarcely even an hour, without some new instance of politically correct thinking and language being imposed on the citizenry at large by a kind of ideological Invisible Hand. The *bien pensants* who occupy the cultural ramparts know instinctively what is acceptable and what not. Criticus has noted for the faithful many instances in recent years in which this or that name, mascot, expression, and the like have been denounced and changed to soothe some sensibility. The two favored sensibilities presumed most in need of soothing have lately been the Indian and the black. Here's a nod in each direction that came to Critical attention in recent months.

Constant readers will recall that students at Birmingham High School in Van Nuys were compelled to cease being Braves and have become Pioneers, and there have been other such changes or proposed changes in California but nothing so sweeping as the changes in Dallas.

There, no fewer than ten schools have abandoned their traditional Indian mascots and adopted new and anodyne names. Before the verbal cleansing there were two schools styling themselves Apaches, four calling themselves simply Indians, two Warriors and one Aztecs. The new mascot names include two Stars, two Eagles, two Panthers, one Wildcats, one Timberwolves, one Comets, and one Pegasus. Try saying "We are the Pegasuses" instead of "We are the Braves" and you'll have something just about as absurd as saying, "We are the Stanford Cardinal" (formerly Indians). Perhaps they should switch, as in "We are the Pegasus" (there was after all only one Pegasus) and "We are the Cardinals" (of which there are after all many, though none in Stanford).

TO THEIR credit some of the students at the various schools tried to adopt symbols that seem to mock the whole business. One group at the school that became the tongue-twisting Pegasuses tried to become the Bulls, but, Chicago notwithstanding, the language fascists thought it could lead to unfortunate consequences. Students at another school, once the Apaches and now the Eagles, fought and lost the struggle to call themselves the Donald Ducks, though to Criticus that is no sillier than the Mighty Ducks of Anaheim. Yet another school, previously the Warriors and now the Panthers, had a faction favoring the Black Panthers, but you can imagine the official reaction to that. As a concession to the old ways it was decreed that students could still wear their old Indian tee shirts because they are "memorabilia." One wonders how long that indulgence will last. Probably until the first prankster shows up with a tee shirt bearing the old Coppertone ad depicting an Indian saying "Don't be a paleface."



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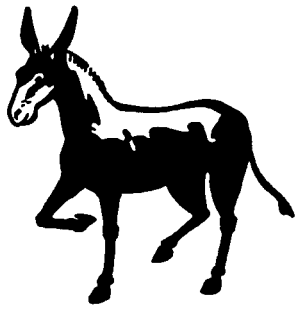
Speaking of Native Americans, how is it that the U.S. Air Force is allowed to fly helicopters named Apache and fire "tomahawk" missiles? Judging from the performance of one of them in Kosovo, it may be that they are thought to be largely unthreatening. As hitherto were thought to be the now extinct Anasazi of New Mexico. A new theory posits that their extinction came about because they were overcome by cannibalistic Toltecs and themselves adopted cannibalistic ways until finally fleeing and inhabiting cliff dwellings and eventually dwindling out as a distinct tribe, leaving as their descendants the modern-day Hopi, Zuni, and Pueblo Indians. The evidence suggests that they cooked their victims thoroughly and carefully removed all the flesh from the bones, which makes them at least more fastidious than the Crusaders. This theory has not been welcomed by the Indian descendants of the Anasazi, and the propounder of the theory, one Professor Christy Turner of Arizona State University, has been shunned by his colleagues, many of whom refuse even to read his book. In the Academy this is called academic freedom.



**Congressman Brad Sherman supplied the Democrat all-purpose answer to almost any question. By going to college, he said, students 'will earn higher salaries and provide the government with more tax dollars.'**

Some new claimants to the victim's chair are Hawaiians. Two of their number caused the cancellation of a planned Hawaiian luau at Dartmouth college. What's wrong with a luau? Well, it is alleged to be a feast with spiritual overtones and hence unsuitable for a fraternity-sorority party. No doubt non-Hawaiian visitors to the islands will recall many a spiritual luau and not even think of staging one in their own home regions.

Another sometime overlooked group, at least in this country, namely Muslims, has been accommodated in England where a retirement home has been built in London designed so that none of the lavatories faces Mecca.

BUT HOPE and despair not. Think of the charming effrontery of the recent revival of the Indian motorcycle. It was once the best-selling motorcycle in the United States, its top model being the Indian Chief and its logo an Indian chief in full headdress. The original company ceased operation in 1953, but now after a long legal battle the ownership of the name and logo has been settled and a new company appropriately named the Indian Motorcycle Co. has begun production. Nostalgic graduates of all those purified Dallas schools and especially veterans of Birmingham High in Van Nuys can make a pilgrimage to a motorcycle emporium in Ventura called simply The Shop (on the web as cycleshop.com). It is said to be a virtual museum of Indian motorcycles all of them sporting the infamous logo. Enough to bring a tear to the cheek of that Italian-American gentleman who posed for the well-known depiction of the weeping Indian.

Another little ray of sunshine has broken out in an even more unlikely spot than motorcycle production, namely in publishing. A company called Applewood Books in Massachusetts is re-issuing the Nancy Drew and Hardy Boys mystery series in exact replicas of the originals. This is more daring than you might think. There had been a sanitized and predictably boring re-issue of the books in 1959 but the originals now being reproduced contain such shocking elements of sexism and racism as that girls are not likely to have serious ideas and that the "colored caretaker" says "dat" and "ain't." For that matter it will go against the grain of the politically correct to find teenagers who utter no stronger swear words than "Gee whiz!" Incidentally, the most prolific of the team of authors who wrote these books under a single pseudonym for each series was one Mildred Wirt Benson who wrote twenty-three Nancy Drews and who is still flourishing in her 90s and writing a column for the *Toledo Blade*. Why is there no right-thinking foundation around to give her a Lifetime Achievement Award?

### Nuts From St. Hunger's Fruitcake

☞ The U.S. Army now recognizes so-called white witchcraft, Wicca, as a religion and has appointed chaplains for it on at least five military bases. Wiccans can also now have their religious preference stamped on their dog tags.

☞ The city of San Francisco has officially adopted



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the term "pet guardian" as the appropriate designation for a pet owner. It still sounds patriarchal to me, so I suggest that they change it to "pet friend" or even, given some pets I know, "pet servant."

☞ For Easter this year a supermarket chain in Britain arranged to sell hot cross buns with a star of David in place of the cross. These were offered in a predominantly Jewish area of London. The market agreed not to sell them during Passover when eating leavened bread is forbidden, but an otherwise approving rabbi pointed out that he couldn't eat them at any time because they are not kosher. At last an Anglican spokesman gently pointed out that the whole purpose of hot cross buns is to mark the crucifixion: that's why there is a cross on them and why they are sold at Eastertide.

☞ San Fernando Valley Congressman Brad Sherman answered students' questions about Kosovo at a Pierce College meeting. He was asked what the role of community colleges should be. His answer can stand as the all-purpose answer of the Democrat Party to almost any question. According to the *L.A. Times,* Sherman said that, by going to college, students "will earn higher salaries and provide the government with more tax dollars."

☞ The BBC has banned the use of AD and BC in citing dates lest it offend non-Christians. In another ecumenical move it has fired a distinguished Tory journalist from a weekly news discussion radio program because his accent is too posh.

☞ In an apparent effort to imitate John Kennedy in every way, President Priapus in Cologne in June managed his own version of Kennedy's jolly linguistic blunder when Kennedy declared *"Ich bin ein Berliner,"* which translates as "I am a jelly doughnut." For his part Clinton declared in Cologne *"Ich bin ein Kölsch,"* which translates as "I am a beer." CPR

BOOKS

# A Conspiracy of Confidence

BY JANE HIPOLITO

THE NOTED art critic John Russell once observed that "the act of reading is an act of confidence, and almost of conspiracy, between one human being and another. That conspiracy can get nowhere, and that confidence can be betrayed. But if all goes well the reader may put down the book at the end and say what the author ... most wants to hear: 'I learned a lot from your book, but what is more to the point is that I had a very good time.'" [1] This is precisely the response that Owen Barfield's writings irresistibly evoke, as the splendid new anthology, *A Barfield Reader: Selections from the Writings of Owen Barfield,* engagingly demonstrates.

*Jane Hipolito is a professor of English at California State University, Fullerton.*

The anthology was published to mark the centenary of Owen Barfield (1898-1997), one of the twentieth century's finest writers and thinkers. A lawyer by profession, Barfield was also a dazzlingly gifted poet, playwright, novelist, and translator. And he is internationally renowned for his penetrating scholarly work on language, consciousness, and human evolution. In this century of ever-accelerating change and ever-increasing information, mastery of one major field is a remarkable achievement and it is rare indeed to attain full expertise in multiple fields. But Barfield did even more: he found many meaningful ways of bridging the chasms between quite diverse disciplines and world-views — and thus his readers are again and again treated to the agreeable surprise of discovering that the universe may, after all, make genuinely unified sense in at least some significant respects.

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*Selections from the Writings of Owen Barfield. Edited and with an Introduction by*

**G. B. Tennyson**

**Wesleyan University Press, 1999, 191 pages, $45, cloth, $18.95, paper.**

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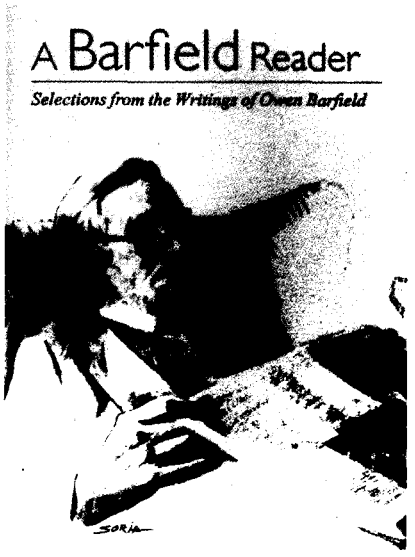
plays the impressive coherence of Owen Barfield's wide-ranging thought. The *Reader's* editor, G. B. Tennyson, knows Barfield's thinking well. A leading authority on Barfield's life and work, for thirty years Tennyson has been writing about them with the vigor, intelligence, eloquence, and élan he also brings to his "Criticus" column for *California Political Review.* His deep familiarity with Barfield's books informs the anthology's outstandingly substantial, cogent, and helpful introductory section. There is a particularly close connection between Tennyson's award-winning documentary film *Owen Barfield: Man and Meaning* (1995) and the *Reader,* which, like the film, focuses on the central ideas that consistently illumine, animate, and integrate Barfield's writings.

A *Barfield Reader* begins as Barfield himself did, with language and literature. Tennyson explains in his headnote to this section of the anthology that "Both as writer and thinker Barfield grounds his thought in language and literature. It is the subject of his earliest writing and remains throughout his career the seedbed from which his thinking grows." From childhood on Barfield explored language and literature from two contrasting but complementary perspectives, as creative writer and as attentive reader. Even as a schoolboy he noticed that somehow both writing and reading induced what he called a "felt change" in his consciousness, and as a student at Oxford University he began to inquire systematically into just what these transformative processes involve and how language and literature cause them. His studies resulted in two ground-breaking books, *History in English Words* (1926) and *Poetic Diction* (1928). In *History in English Words* he stimulatingly proposes "that human consciousness itself had evolved as had language, indeed that the two evolved together, and that the evolution of language was the demonstration of the evolution of consciousness." (*A Barfield Reader,* xxvi) In *Poetic Diction* he explores exactly how the poetic use of language promotes evolution in individual consciousness by awakening and empowering the imagination.




With these two books Owen Barfield established himself as a thinker with something refreshingly lucid and hopeful to contribute to the urgent modern debates about what it means to be human. In 1897, one year before Barfield's birth, Paul Gauguin had addressed these modern concerns in his grand painting *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* Barfield explored them in steadily increasing breadth and profundity throughout his long, productive life. In his comprehensive analysis, developed from his astonishingly wide readings and close personal observation of perceptual and cognitive processes, we modern humans have "come from" a primitive consciousness that was effortlessly, instinctively unitary, like that of the indigenous Tahitians in Gauguin's painting. Here is one of Barfield's characteristically vivid descriptions of how our long-ago ancestors perceived the world:

> If with the help of some time-machine working in reverse, a man of the Middle Ages could suddenly be transported into the skin of a man of the twentieth century, seeing through our eyes and with our "figuration" the objects we see, I think he would feel like a child who looks for the first time at a photograph through the ingenious magic of a stereoscope. "Oh!" he would say, "look how they *stand out!*" We must not forget that in his time perspective had not yet been discovered, nor underrate the significance of this. True, it is no more than a device for pictorially representing depth, and separateness, in space. But how comes it that the device had never been discovered before — or, if discovered, never adopted? There were plenty of skilled artists, and they would certainly have hit upon it if depth in space had characterized the collective representations they wished to reproduce, as it characterizes ours. They did not need it. Before the scientific revolution the world was more like a garment men wore about them than a stage on which they moved. In such a world the convention of perspective was unnecessary. To such a world other conventions of visual reproduction, such as the nimbus and the halo, were as appropriate as to ours they are not. It was as if the observers were themselves *in* the picture. Compared with us, they felt themselves and the objects around them and the world that expressed those objects, immersed together in something like a clear lake of — what shall we say? — of "meaning", if you choose.[2]

2. This passage from Barfield's *Saving the Appearances* (1957) is included in *A Barfield Reader,* where it appears on page 105.



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In stark contrast, the world we moderns experience is "one of fragmented individualism and indifference, an age besotted with material possessions. To understand that thinking and perceiving have evolved and will continue to do so is to better understand our place in the evolution of consciousness and why changes in our ways of thinking are necessary to heal our troubled lives and world."[3]

BARFIELD NOT only warns us of where we and our earth are going if present trends continue, but also points us toward what we can realistically do to restore meaning to our lives and to the life of nature. His solution is solidly based in his understanding of the individual human spirit's power to evolve and create — and imagine. For example, in one of the passages included in the "philosophy and meaning" section of *A Barfield Reader* he describes

> what normally occurs when we look at, or listen to, a fellow human being. When we do that, we see his body, or hear his voice, not only as matter but also as expression. We see his body and his countenance as a material picture of the immaterial. I say that is what normally occurs, and I think it does normally occur to *some* extent every time one human being observes another. But of course it may occur to a greater or lesser degree. And the extent to which it does occur will depend a good deal on ourselves. We may — or we may not — make up our minds that it shall occur, in our case, to the maximum degree of which our imagination is capable. 'Tis not in mortals to command success, and the result will be uncertain. What seems certain is that something very important will depend on the extent to which we are successful. For what will depend on it is what I suggested just now is the most important thing in a meeting between two human beings — that it should be not simply a relation between two phenomena but a relation between two spirits.

Barfield goes on to point out that just as it is in our power to create I-Thou relationships with the people we know, so also, if we choose, we can regard nature not as an It but as a Thou, and that "something very important," the fate of our entire ecosphere, depends on the extent to which we succeed in doing this. For Barfield, the modern Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner's holistic "science of the spirit," anthroposophy, affords a workable, systematic way to develop these essential survival skills, as he elucidates in many of the writings included in this anthology.

The "literature of his own" which is presented in the concluding section of *A Barfield Reader* affords an especially clear view of how very thoroughly Owen Barfield practiced what he preached regarding the imagination. Tennyson observes that "Like Coleridge and Steiner, Barfield begins with wonder, wonder at the glory of language and the range and diversity of reality." (xxix) Prompted by wonder, he devotes close and constructive attention to such diverse phenomena as daybreak over the English countryside (in his exquisitely lyrical poem "Day"), the feminist movement (in *The Silver Trumpet,* a gently satiric fairy tale for children of all ages), and bereavement (in *Orpheus,* an eloquent drama in verse). All of the writings included in this anthology, but especially the imaginative pieces gathered in its last section, support the truth of Saul Bellow's assessment:

> We are well supplied with interesting writers, but Owen Barfield is not content to be merely interesting. His ambition is to set us free. Free from what? From the prison we have made for ourselves by our ways of knowing, our limited and false habits of thought, our "common sense." These, he convincingly argues, have produced a "world of outsides with no insides to them," a brittle surface world, an object world in which we ourselves are merely objects. It is not only what we perceive but also what we fail to perceive that determines the quality of the world we live in, and what we have collectively chosen not to perceive is the full reality of consciousness, the "inside" of everything that exists.
>
> A clear and powerful thinker, and a subtle one, Mr. Barfield is not an optimist, but he does believe that we can get out of the prison — or the madhouse.[4]

VIEWING *A Barfield Reader* from this perspective, as a handbook on how to take hold of the freeing force of the imagination, helps one understand why it is that Barfield's writings have attracted particular interest and respect in America. For as the *Reader's* contents reveal, the quintessentially English Barfield focused directly and stirringly on the core aspiration of the American spirit, the yearning for meaningful individual freedom. CPR

3. From the Introduction by Jeanne Clayton Hunter and Thomas Kranidas to their anthology of Barfield's poetry and fiction, A Barfield Sampler (State University of New York Press, 1993).

4. On the dust jacket of Owen Barfield's book *History, Guilt, nad Habit* (Wesleyan University Press, 1979).



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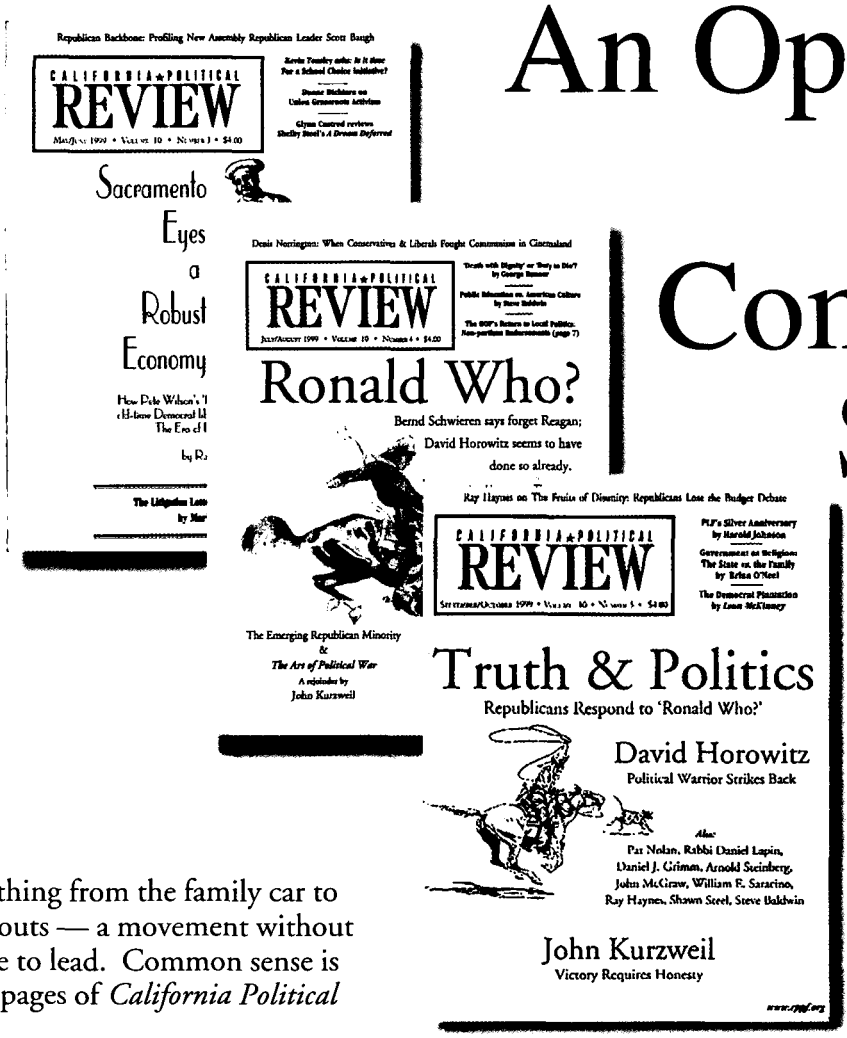
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